СКОРОСШИВАТЕЛЬ

Лит.

Город

Дата

от

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM.

L E T T E R S TO FOREIGN OFFICE

AND OTHER SOVIET

INSTITUTIONS.

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Durch

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
485 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y.
WICKERSHAM 2-2000

11 December 1946

Mr. V. S. Vasilienko
Acting Chief, Press department
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Moscow

Dear Mr. Vasilienko,

After three days of fruitless telephoning it has now been recommended that I apply in writing to have the point of departure on our exit visas changed.

When I applied for exit visas for my wife and myself on November 22nd I said that we would be leaving by air from Moscow airport. It was our intention to leave on an American cargo plane that was due to arrive a couple of days thereafter and depart again on 27 November. This plane would have taken us and our voluminous baggage to Berlin without charge. We waited for this plane during ten days of bad weather because, for one thing, we did not know the bad weather would last that long and we were intent, from day to day, to spare my company the expense that would otherwise be involved.

On Sunday, December 8th, I was informed that the Soviet authorities had refused to allow the American cargo plane in. The next day I telephoned you to have our visas changed to permit us to leave the Soviet Union by rail, specifically to have the point of departure changed from Moscow Airport to Brest-Litovsk. The reason we want this change is because I do not think the expenditure of my company's money for an air passage with so much excess baggage is warrantable when rail is available; furthermore I have no desire to put our departure at the mercy of the uncertain weather conditions that prevail during this season.

I would greatly appreciate your help in expediting what is, after all, a simple change. We are prepared to leave any day.

Yours very truly,

Richard C. Hottelet

МЕЖДУНАРОДНАЯ

ПРИЕМ		ПЕРЕДАЧА	Министерство связи СССР. Адрес:
21 го 06 ч 00 м.		го ч м.	
Бл. №	RCA	Пор. № Пр. №	LC RICHARD HOTTELET
Принял: SILANTEWA	Пров. №	Передал	HOTEL METROPOLE MOSCOW
Из NYR362 CBA5 LV NEWYORK		СЛУЖЕБ. ОТМЕТКИ	
№ 29 20 бл. 1639 го ч м			

IN VIEW RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT DECISION PLEASE CLOSE OFFICE ETPROCEED SOONEST BERLIN WHERE FURTHER ISTRUCTIONS AWAITING STOP SUGGEST ASSISTANCE LILYWARD FRONOTHER JOB REGARDS -

CHURCH ***

Метрология

22 November 1946

Mr. V. S. Vasilienko
Acting Chief, Press Departmnet
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Dear Mr. Vasilienko,

I have been ordered by my New York office to close our Moscow Bureau and to leave the Soviet Union.

It is my intention to fly to Berlin, together with my wife. The date set for our leaving Moscow Airport is November 27th, but in view of the weather conditions at this time of year there is no guarantee that this date will stand.

Would you be so kind as to take the necessary steps toward issuing me and my wife exit permits, taking this possibility of delay into consideration? I understand these permits can be made valid for about two weeks, which should certainly suffice.

Yours very truly,

Richard C. Hottelet

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Acting Chief, Press Department
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Yours very truly,

Richard C. Hottelet

PRESS COLUMBIA BROADCASTING NEWYORK

murrow xxxxxx eye tonight received answer your telegram quote connection your telegram november eighth 1946 concerning radio broadcasts from moscow x viayour correspondent richard hottelet comma press department minforeign affairs ussr been directed by the xxchiefs of the ministry inform you following colon firstly previously forncorrespondents did not have radio broadcasts but sent their correspondence by telegraph exmoscow/stop secondly during war two or three correspondents were given possibility comma as temporary measure comma transmit news viaradio due fact other forms communication made difficult viawar stop thirdly recent halting these radio broadcasts means abolition this temporary measure in light of functioning of ordinary means communication stop etalso provision time prothese radio broadcasts difficult because radio transmitters overburdened stop correspondents who temporarily had radio broadcasting facilities may comma if they want to comma continue their work as before etsend their correspondence in usual manner comma as was before war para dated november nineteenth para no signature unquote para message handed me viaacting chief press department vassilienko in foreign office stop eye asked whether this also specifically excluded radio telephone facilities stop he emphasized first point which states correspondents prewar sent messages viatelegraph etoutpointed further last words which specify return to prewar procedure para eye await instructions exyou regards

hottelet

rchottelet
press card 25
19 november 1946

In connection with your telegram of 8 November 1946 concerning radio broadcasts from Moscow by your Correspondent R. Hottelet, the Press Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR has been charged by the chiefs of the Ministry to inform you of the following:

1) That previously foreign correspondents did not have radio broadcasts from Moscow, but sent their correspondence by telegraph.

2) During the war two or three correspondents were given possibility. as a temporary measure, to transmit information by radio in connection with the fact that other forms of communication were difficult because of the war.

3) The recent cessation of these radio broadcasts means the abolition of this temporary measure in the conditions of normal functioning of ordinary means of communication, and also the provision of time for these radio broadcasts is difficult because of the overburdening of the radio stations. Correspondents who temporarily had the possibility of radio broadcasting may, if they want to, continue their work as before and send their correspondence in the usual manner as it was previously, before the war.

November 19, 1946

В связи с Вашей телеграммой от 8 ноября 1946 года по поводу радиопередач из Москвы Вашим корреспондентом Р. Хоттелет, Отделу Печати Министерства Иностранных Дел СССР поручено руководством Министерства сообщить Вам следующее:

1. Прежде иностранные корреспонденты не вели радиопередач из Москвы, а посылали свою корреспонденцию по телеграфу.

2. На время войны двум-трем корреспондентам была предоставлена возможность, в качестве временной меры, передавать информацию по радио в связи с тем, что другие формы связи были затруднены войной.

3. Недавнее прекращение этих радиопередач означает упразднение этой временной меры в условиях нормального функционирования обычных средств связи. К тому же предоставление времени для таких радиопередач затруднительно по причинам перегрузки радиостанций. Корреспонденты, временно пользовавшиеся возможностью радиопередач, могут, если захотят, попрежнему продолжат свою работу и пересылать свою корреспонденцию в обычном порядке, как это было прежде, до войны.

19 ноября 1946 года.

Hotel Metropole
21 October 1946

Mr. Vladimir Kemenov
Director of VOKS
Moscow

Dear Mr. Kemenov,

I would like to ask your help in gathering material for some broadcasts on various cultural activities in Moscow today. I am interested in the ballet, opera and the theater; in music, the cinema and the pictorial arts.

Would it be possible for you to arrange interviews or talks with prominent workers in these fields - preferably with people whose names are known in the United States? If I may make some suggestions, perhaps it would be possible to see one of your great ballerinas - Mme. Semyonova, or Mme Ulanova or Mme Lepeshinskaya. I should like to have atalk also with the Director of the Bolshoi Theater. In the field of Music it might be possible to talk to Prokoffiev or Shostakovich; in the sphere of cinema perhaps Eisenstein or Yutkevich. I should like to see the painter Gerasimov, some of whose work I have seen in the War Art Exhibition at the Tretyakov Museum.

I have also received a request to prepare an article on the progress made by Soviet medicine during the last few years, particularly lessons arising out of war experience. Would it be possible for you to put me in touch with people who could speak authoritatively on this subject?

Your cooperation will be greatly appreciated.

Yours very truly,

Richard C. Hottelet

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
EUROPEAN OFFICES
14 LANGHAM PLACE, LONDON, W.1

OFFICE OF THE EUROPEAN DIRECTOR
EDWARD R. MURROW

TELEPHONE LANGHAM 1166 & 1167
TELEGRAMS COLBROSYS LONDON

31 October 1946

Dear Mark,

There have been many times during the past five odd months when I've been just about to write you. But each time I've put it off just a few days in anticipation of having something positive then to write about.

Before I arrived in Russia I sent you a note from Stockholm suggesting a few stories - a piece on Pravda, a piece on Moscow as a city and so on. Shortly after we settled down here I set about getting some feature material. I could well use it for our own Feature Story program, quite apart from magazine stuff. After a certain amount of trial and failure it became quite evident that it would be impossible simply to go about collecting any kind of material, the way you would in any other country. It became perfectly plain that correspondents are more isolated -- are deliberately and as a matter of policy kept more isolated - than anywhere I know. Compared to this place Berlin was a happy, gabby Lion's Club meeting. Nowhere that I've ever been where I did not know the language has ignorance of the tongue been a "barrier". It's been an inconvenience, and it's made life more complicated -- but it has never prevented an average human being from getting to know the people and the country (and in the process quickly learning the rudiments of the language). But here in Russia if you don't speak Russian you might as well be in solitary confinement. And even if you do, the good it does you is confined to being able to read the newspapers yourself, understand what you hear at the theater, and overhear conversations in the subway. (Bob Magidoff, by the way, who speaks Russian as well as anyone, says that the only real news break he's ever gotten from his knowledge of Russian was a story he overheard in the subway.) If you marry a Russian girl you get to meet her relatives and some of her friends (unless any of them have official positions of even minor consequence). But it is impossible to telephone anyone - the editor of Pravda, the President of the Academy of Medical Sciences, the Director of the Bolshoi Theater, the Moscow Chief of Police - and ask to come around and see them. I've tried this in various instances, including a couple of people I had met before the war. They refer you to the Foreign Office Press department, to which all cor-

respondents are accredited, or to VOKS (the Society for the Maintenance of Cultural Relations with Foreigners) if they're engaged in strictly "cultural" work.

In the time I've been here I've applied to the Foreign Office for permission to see all sorts of people and things -- factories, schools, universities, hospitals, marriage license bureaus, laboratories, film studios, scientists, church leaders etc. The Foreign Office has arranged one single interview - with a woman who runs the Moscow school system. The technique is always the same. You call up the Press Department and ask for help in getting material on, let's say, the development of Medical Science in the last few years and particularly the lessons that are being drawn from the experiences of the war years. The F.O., very politely, asks you to write them a letter about it. You do. You wait a week during which nothing happens. You telephone again. The man to whom you addressed the letter is not there just then, and no one else knows about it. You call again next day -- ah yes, the people who could best give you the information are completely tied up in a conference/ extreme ly busy/ ill/ in a meeting just at present/ out of town/ dead, but the F.O. is doing its absolute utmost to help you out and will let you know the results in a few days. You wait a few days, you wait more than a few days. You call the F.O. again. You get the same variations on the same theme. If you had the patience you could go on for years, the F.O. would never be any less polite, it would never be any more helpful. Unless ....

And that is a pretty big unless. If ypu're a good boy and play the game more or less according to their rules the F.O. will pay you off with odd scraps of the mountains of feature material that stand around here. They will arrange visits, xx people will not be in conference, things will not be "impossible just at present". Being a good boy does not necessarily mean completely following the party line, either. As a matter of fact, a man who appears independent is far more valuable to them in putting in a frequent "tolerant" or "understanding" statementx than an obvious Charlie McCarthy would be. The tiny simile can be a very great help too - like the one (I think in Gilmore's recent article) describing the Soviet Youth Organization - the Pioneers - as "a sort of Russian Boy Scouts".

Certainly if your standpoint is clearly against censorship, is intolerant toward naked propaganda and not understanding of the various aspects of modern totalitarianism, then you've got as much chance as a fart in a whirlwind of getting official help in gathering news.

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I want to make various qualifications. The two most important are the official tour and the quid pro quo. The official tour includes all the people who come over on official or semi-official auspices and who are entertained either to establish some personal good will in the right quarter (as might have been the case with the wife of our Secretary of State when she came in on a short junket); or as a payoff for services rendered and a refresher course in Mecca (the innumerable youth delegations etc. that have been trooping in mainly from central Europe all summer); or because the Soviet Union hopes to profit from the impression of lavish hospitality and genuine goodwill it can make on any person who comes here for only a short visit (good will tourers, chess teams); or, lastly, the specialist who comes in for business with or by special arrangement with a technical department - Ministry of Communications, Ministry of Agriculture, Academy of Science etc.

All these people see exactly what the Soviet Government wants them to see, in addition to the street scenes and theaters and restaurants which are the only things that everyone can see freely. And what they see is carefully calculated, their environment is controlled as far as possible. Most people are urged to go to the theater as often as they can, and the tickets that are extremely hard for anyone (including us) to obtain come down in showers for them. If the person is marked down as astute or in the least critical he will be kept well inside his own specialty (be it culture, or agriculture or microorganisms). In general Soviet hospitality aims at a large turnover. It realizes that it cannot dazzle anyone for very long, so it is much more prepared to let people come into the country for short stays.

The other main qualification is the quid pro quo. If something is deemed necessary for the political or material profit of the country all difficulties vanish. We tried to get a trip to the Ukraine and White Russia. Week after week it was "impossible". Then we had LaGuardia point out to them that the United States had a clause in its UNRRA bill which forbade appropriations for relief destined for countries that did not give American correspondents full freedom to observe deliveries and distribution. Faced with even this feeble and distant threat to UNRRA supplies, the Foreign Office suddenly, literally over night, found that the trip was possible indeed. For three weeks thereafter we

bounced 2500 miles around western and southern Russia. Take the UNRRA missions in Kiev and Minsk. They have a freedom of movement which is unparalleled by any foreigner in the Soviet Union. (I've seen Fisher's first two Harpers articles, by the way, and think they're very good reporting). The reason for it is that they have something to give this country which the government values extremely highly.

Apart from this sort of thing the news we get is mainly from three sources - diplomats, the press, our eyes and ears. Rumor hovers over all. But even at best, except for bare official handouts, gathering news here is not so much reporting as it is research, and not so much research as it is paleontology. The appearance or disappearance of a name among a list of signatories to an obituary or a decree or a proclamation brings the refernece books and the card index files out like a flash. You figure out where the man might have gone, who his friends were and whether they've gone too, who has replaced him, and possible reasons why. It's all fragmentary and inexact - and sometimes when you're in the middle of some fascinating hunt you put your head up above the surface and look down at yourself; and you remind yourself of a two year old counting his marbles. It's pathetic.

Of course getting news is one thing. Getting it outbof the country is another. I won't sing you a song of censorship here, Mark. I'd be at it all night. But it is vicious.

The upshot is frustration. As far as I'm concerne I've done maybe a handful of decent pieces of work for Columbia since I got here. And I've found it impossible to get anything together which I would even send you for submission to Joe Alex or Marty Sommers. I have no intention of sending you, for instance, material weeded out of newspapers in answer to Joe's request for a piece on medical progress -- not when the academy of medical sciences is a few blocks away and I can't get in, not when I can't get into a hospital or a clinic, or call up any old doctor and have a talk with him.

There are certain things I'd like to send you - I once cabled you a piece about what I called Reconversion - Russian style, which I would love to do. But I would never get it past the censor. As a matter of fact, I sat down to do this and kept on with the piece, just to formulate my ideas. It's now up to about 10,000 words and there's plenty more to be said. I'll talk it over with you as soon as I'm out of here.

And that brings me to another main point. For

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almost four weeks now there have been no foreign broadcasts out of Moscow. Magdioff and Stevens and I have been off the air. ~~The~~ We are off obviously as the result of a policy decision, we presume a high level policy decision. We think that the intention here is to cut down gradually on the number of foreign correspondents. We have never been told that we are forbidden to broadcast, hell no. We're getting the good old fashioned oil treatment. We're simply up against an interminable succession of coincidences that ~~xxxxx~~ makes it temporarily impossible to broadcast. We are told that the Moscow Radio has no time on its schedule for foreign broadcasters for the time being, and that the facilities of the Ministry of Communications - with whom we tried to arrange radio telephone facilities - are overburdened and thus unavailable. (Although, apparently they have not been overburdened ~~for~~the literally dozens of people we know who have called New York since we were first given that explanation.)

We have found it impossible to get to see anyone, to get an honest explanation. We are surrounded by an impenetrable wall of polite, sickly smiles and transparently false excuses. The censorship has even systematically killed our service messages to our organizations.

We have been very patient, getting our patience and our attempts to reach a solution very well on the record. The Russians have been waiting for us to get disgusted and pull out by ourselves - thinking that thereby they could disclaim any responsibility for our departure, refute the accusation that they had in reality expelled us. The only two steps left to us are to get to Molotov and to Stalin. If they fail we should be leaving fairly shortly, and it will be plain even to the most stupid and the most "tolerant" that we have been thrown out of the USSR.

I hope this letter makes up for the several I wanted to write and didn't. I can give you only a scattered picture of the conditions ~~xx~~ under which we operate.

Strangely enough I shall be sorry to go. I feel that I'm learning a good bit here. Living and trying to work, and doing a bit of travelling in Russia clean the cobwebs out of your thinking, get you down to realities in your analyses. I feel now as if I were just starting out on the right track to finding out what makes these people and their system tick. But what the hell, if they throw you out you gotta go.

Annie sends you her best.

You might even hear before you get this letter how things are with us.

page 6 hottelet to hanna 31 october 1946

Enclosed you will find a document that might amuse you. The purpose behind it is not to knife Gilmore (although frankly I don't give a damn) - but to go on record. When I come back to the US I don't want anyone saying that I saved my steam for when I got out of Russia, or that I came out with a pack of lies because they attract more attention than the truth. We all wanted to go on record as refuting Gilmore here, in Moscow, right now and to his face.

That's plenty for now. We're going to a Hallowe'en party. But there'll be no punkin pie.

Best of luck, Marco, and maybe we'll see you soon.

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31 October 1946

Dear Ted,

By now, I guess, you will have seen Molotov or else have had a sharp, pungent taste of the old Russian run around we have been getting for almost four weeks.

You are in possession of all the facts. I think you and Ed and Bill Paley will agree that what is happening to us here is the result of a deliberate, official Soviet policy. We have been amusing ourselves here in trying to figure out what gave rise to this policy. So far we've been able only vaguely and tentatively to guess. The sudden denial of our broadcasting facilities on October 8th came immediately after Molotov's visit to Moscow from Paris. It also came a week or so after our stories about our Donbas trip had been passed without a cut. I can well imagine a situation along following lines -- Molotov, pressed hard at Paris, unable there to make any headway despite various open and concealed threats of force (such as the spreading of rumors that the Yugoslavs might execute a coup against Trieste, and allowing further rumors to spread that the Yugoslavs had concentrated ten divisions, including two armored divisions on the northern Greek frontier) suddenly sees stories under Moscow datelines on the trip of various correspondents through the Ukraine and White Russia. The main theme of all these stories is, without exception, the incredible weakness and disorganization that was visible to the naked eye in industry and agriculture. Obviously, these stories make it difficult if not impossible for Molotov to put on his act in Paris, an act which is designed either directly to intimidate his opponents, or else, indirectly, to encourage his satellites in the belief that they can get away with murder because of omnipotent Russian support. Molotov comes storming back to Moscow bellowing, "How the hell do you expect me to do my job when at the same time you allow the Radio Committee and the Ministry of Communications to transmit stuff which makes me look like a complete fool?" And in Moscow (along with a number of other more important things) Molotov accomplishes the muzzling of a certain percentage of the foreign press corps there, on the principle that what is not said will not hinder Soviet policy. He leaves careful instructions, however, that the muzzled correspondents will not be thrown out because that would raise an even bigger riot than the whole thing is worth. He leaves instructions that the foreigners

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Best of luck, Marco, and maybe we'll see you soon.

RUSSIANS STOP U.S. BROADCASTS

Daily Telegraph, 9 Nov '46,

'NO TIME AVAILABLE'

From Our Own Correspondent

NEW YORK, Friday.

It was disclosed here to-day that for the past month correspondents stationed in Moscow have been prevented from broadcasting by the short wave to the United States.

The Russian authorities claim that their own winter programme is so heavy that there is no time available for foreigners. This explanation is not regarded as fully covering the situation by the four American networks, which have hitherto refrained from mentioning their difficulties in the hope that a more reasonable attitude would be adopted.

It is declared that Russia's elaborate short-wave operations involve broadcasting programmes totalling 266 hours a week over 30 or 40 transmitters, and that correspondents of all the American networks combined use at the most 30 minutes a day.

The correspondents affected are: Mr. Robert Magidoff, National Broadcasting Company, Mr. Edward Stevens, American Broadcasting Company, who also represents the Christian Science Monitor, Mr. Richard Hottelet, Columbia Broadcasting System, for whom the Newsweek Magazine has been trying unsuccessfully to get accredited, and Mr. John Fisher, Mutual Broadcasting System.

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are not to be told anything definite, they are merely to be exposed to an unending series of coincidences which shall make it impossible to broadcast. It must be left up to them to draw the desired conclusions and pull out themselves - in which case they will never be able to accuse the Soviet Union of having thrown them out.

I have absolutely no way of finding out whether this hypothesis of ours is true in whole or in part. It certainly does fit the facts, though, - all the facts.

But why the broadcasters alone? For one thing they are a smaller group - Stevens is Christian Science Monitor too and will not be affected to the extent of having to pull out. Magidoff might also stay. Thus there is less likely to be any hoopla about mass expulsion. For another thing, the broadcasters can do a certain amount of damage with their voices, which can not ever be checked up on in advance, while the cold print of a telegram is more easily seen through and can be stopped dead. Some of our embassy people think that the government here might well desire to return to 1939 or 1940 conditions, when there were no people here but the three American agencies.

Our hypothesis that this latest action is a policy matter andnot a reprisal seems supported by the fact that three such different people as Stevens and Magidoff and I are involved (not to mention the Dane and the Poles). The authorities might indeed complain that I have vigorously protested this stupid censorship and that I have consistently refused to peddle their propaganda. But I am certain that they would not find as much reason for such complaint about Stevens.

As I cabled you, we have not been anxious to force this issue. Once you close up an office here it is no easy job reopening it. The thing to examine is whether the immediate or even the longrange prospects of doing any work are sufficiently good to warrant keeping the office open. Seen today, at this end. neither the short nor the long term prospects are that good. The only thing, then, that would weigh against closing the office is the possibility of changing present Soviet policy and thus changing the prospects. The three of us feel that only two people can change present policy. One is Joe and one is Molotov. Molo is in New York, so I've cabled you (and the others have cabled their offices) to get in touch with him. We have here been trying to get in touch with Dekanozov (mainly because we want to have gone through all possible motions and channels before appealing

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to the inevitable last resort, Jesus H. Stalin himself). Dekanozov is "ill". We have considered whether it would be better for the three of us here to write to Stalin ourselves, or to have New York cable Joe. We have come to the conclusion that there is more chance of being heard and considered if Bill Paley and Ed and you; and Trammell and Brooks; and whoever it is at ABC ~~xxxx~~ - should you obtain no satisfaction from Molotov - send Joe a cable putting the question up to him very bluntly. Once you've done that there is nothing more to be done, and I'll await your instructions.

This is all a goddam shame. There are probably as many good stories per square inch here as there are anywhere in the world - and they tend to be more significant than most others. But what good are they if you can't tell them? Strangely enough, I'll be sorry to go. I've been using the last few weeks' free time between negotiations in odd bits of research and reading. I have the feeling that I'm beginning to get the drift of what goes on here. There is a considerable fascination ~~xxxxx~~ in watching the course of events. Fascinating, that is, if viewed clinically, because it is an almost incredibly complicated process of decay.

I trust all things will be settled even before you get this letter.

Meanwhile I enclose a letter that eight of us here sent to Eddy Gilmore after reading his piece in the Saturday Evening Post. Our object was not to knife him, but to go on record. We all will be telling a far different story when we come out. Lest anyone ever accuse us of telling different stories, or of tolerating their telling, in Moscow and out we wanted quite formally to go on record here in Moscow, right now and to his face I enclose a copy of the letter for your information.

Best regards to Ed and all the boys,

To Wells Church, Columbia Broadcasting System, NY

From Hottelet

I am afraid that it is impossible to get a report of the broadcasting situation to you through the regular channels. As far as I know six of my last eight service messages to you have been killed by the censor. I have been unable even to determine this officially, and I base my conclusion on the fact that spare copies usually returned to me when a message clears have not been returned in these cases.

During the two weeks that have elapsed since we were suddenly deprived of the radio committee's broadcasting facilities Magidoff, Stevens and I have experienced a mixture of obfuscation, delay, buffoonery and boorishness which is difficult to describe. These weeks have been filled with endless telephone calls to various officials who were always in conference or out of town or ill. There have been a number of scheduled interviews cancelled at the last moment. We have reached only two officials in these two weeks. One of them held out the hope of concrete measures to remedy the present situation, but there is no reason to believe that the suggestions he made and the cooperation he promised were anything but unreal. There is at the moment no visble prospect of improvement, but we do not yet feel that we have completely exhausted all possibilities.

At the moment this is the situation: after the radio committee suddenly cancelled our schedules on October 8th we tried to get an explanation, and to explore the possibilities for their restoration. We have not succeeded in reaching anyone in the radio committee directly or by telephone. A letter we wrote the head of the committee on the advice of the foreign office press department has been neither acknowledged or answered. We have been able to ascertain from the Danish Press Attache, who also broadcasts for the Danish Radio, and who had am interview with the assistant chief of the radio committee, that there was no chance of a restoration our previous position. The radio committee, he was informed, w reverting to its considerably shorter prewar schedule of for

Tom Mosley

I am afraid that it is impossible to pay a report
of the broadcasting situation to you through the regular channels.
As far as I know all of my last eight service messages to him
have been killed by the censor. I have been unable even to ascer-
xxxxxxxxxx determine this officially, and I base my conclusion on
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clients have not been returned in these cases.

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suddenly deprived of the radio committee's broadcasting facilities
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sion, delay, duplicity and boorishness which is difficult to
describe. These weeks have been filled with endless telephone calls
to various officials who were always in conference or out of town
or ill. There have been a number of scheduled interviews cancelled
at the last moment. We have received only two officials in these two
weeks. One of them laid out the type of concrete measures to remedy
the present situation, but there is no reason to believe that the
suggestions he made and the cooperation he promised were anything
but unreal. There is at the moment no visible prospect of improve-
ment, but we do not yet feel that we have completely exhausted all
possibilities.

At the moment this is the situation: after the radio
committee suddenly cancelled our broadcast on October 11th we tried
to get an explanation, and to explore the possibilities for their
restoration. We have not succeeded in reaching anyone in the radio
committee directly or by telephone. A letter we wrote the head of
the committee on the advice of the foreign offices Press department
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to ascertain from the Danish Press Attache, who also broadcasts for
the Danish Radio, and who had an interview with the assistant chief
of the radio committee, that there was no chance of a restoration of
our previous position. The radio committee, by the [illegible], was
certainly in its constitutionally elective power capacity of [illegible]

broadcasts, and had no room in it for any foreign broadcasters. The Dane was told that he could not broadcast any more. Subsequently we heard through another source that even the broadcast news in the Polish service, which was monitored and used by the Polish press, had been discontinued. It seems quite definite that we will not again be able to use the radio committees transmitters until there is a radical change in policy. But we have heard absolutely nothing from the radio committee itself.

After a number of delays we succeeded in seeing the assistant chief of the foreign office press department, Vasilenko. He professed complete ignorance of the entire matter, feigned surprise and hazarded the opinion that it was a purely technical matter which could and would be remedied. He said that our use of radio committee facilities was a matter entirely up to the radio committee, that the Foreign Office could exercise no influence on the committee. He recommended that we send a formal joint letter to the head of the radio committee, and he said that on his part he would also address a request to the radio committee for information or remedy. As of today he maintains that he also has received no word from the committee. During our interview with Vasilenko he stated to us officially and in so many words, "The Foreign Office considers you,as before, fully accredited radio correspondents with the right to broadcast." In other words he was assuring us that the Foreign Office had not arranged that we should be deprived of our facilities. It seems inconceivable to us,however, that the blunt and negative treatment we have so consistently received should not be a matter of policy, particularly since its continuation would mean our virtual expulsion and would be bound to have foreign political repercussions. Anything that happens to a foreign correspondent in Moscow, from the gathering of news to the purchase of toilet paper happens in consequence of some deliberate action or calculated omission on the part of the Foreign Ministry. This direct relationship of cause and effect has frequently been observed in censorship matters - and the Office of Censorship is another org-

broadcasts, and had no room in it for any foreign broadcasters.

The Dane was told that he could not broadcast any more. Subsequently we heard through another source that even the broadcast was in the Polish service, which was monitored and used by the Polish press, had been discontinued. It seems quite definite that we will not again be able to use the radio committees transmitters until there is a radical change in policy. Except that we have absolutely nothing from the radio committee itself.

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anization over which the foreign office press department stout maintains it has no control whatsoever.

Once we had privately ascertained that there were no future prospects with the radio committee we got in touch wi the Ministry of Communications, specifically the chief of its international division, a man named yerygin. Stranegly enough we saw him practically immediately, and when we ~~xxx~~ spoke to him he was completely matter of fact (which is a far more promising attitude in a Russian than robust cordiality). He told us that we could certainly use the radio telephone facilities to New York. They were available every day from 1300 to 1500 GMT. He advised us to cable our New York offices the recommendation that New York book our calls and pay for them there. (ORDER OBTAIN TOP PRIORITY.) ~~xxxx~~ That would then eliminate the possibility of ~~xxxx~~ conflict with an outgoing Russian government call which ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ would be given a higher priority than ours if we booked our calls in Moscow. He advised us to instruct you to contact mister Thompson of the American ~~x~~ Telephone and Telegraph at 32 Sixth Avenue for information on rates and bookings. He assured us that the signal was dependable and good. In discussing voice quality we said that the telephone instruments we would be using this end would probably not provide wide enough voice range. Yerygin advised us to have you make tests and said that if these tests showed telephones to be unsatisfactory he would raise the matter of installing microphones for us. We asked if we could begin immediately and he was completely in agreement. I ~~xxxx~~ addressed a cable to you immediately outlinging the situation and informing you that I would call you at 1430 the next day October 18. ~~x~~ On the next day a few hours before the scheduled time Stevens and Magidoff, who had also booked calls, and I were informed that the "lines were tied up with United Nations calls". We were assured we would be able to call the next day. Since that would be saturday we postponed our bookings until Monday October 21 and I sent you a cable to that effect. On Monday exactly the same thing happened, and I sent you a cable advising

[illegible] there hesitate to charge
[illegible] over which the Foreign Office [illegible] department virtual-
maintains it has no control whatsoever.

[illegible] we had privately ascertained that there were
no future prospects with the radio committee as put in hands with
the Ministry of Communication, specifically the chief of its
international division, a man named Vaughn. Bitterly enough
we saw him practically immediately, and when we came to him
he was completely master of fact (which is a far more promising
attitude in a Russian than prior cordiality). He told us that
we could certainly use the radio telephone facilities to New
York. They were available every day from 1300 to 1700 GMT. He
advised us to cable our New York offices the recommendation that
New York book our calls and pay for them there. [illegible]
[illegible] eliminate the possibility of [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] only with Eastern [illegible]
[illegible] world be given a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] He advised us to instruct you to contact
Walter Thompson of the American R Telephone and Telegraph at 30
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phoned telephones to be unsatisfactory he would raise the matter
of installing microphones for us. He added if we could begin im-
mediately and be was completely in agreement. I make [illegible]
able to you immediately outlining the situation and instruct
you that I would call you at 1630 the next day October 18. X On
the next day a few hours before the scheduled time Stevens and
Medinoff, who had also booked calls, and I were informed that the
"lines were tied up with United Nations calls". We were assured
we would be able to call the next day. Miles that would be satis-
day we booked our booking until Monday October 21 [illegible]
[illegible] the same thing happened, and I made you a cable stating
that I must [illegible] you a cable to that effect.

you of this postponement of the call until today October 22. When the call was cancelled again today I telephoned Yerygin who was very apologetic and who explained that the overseas telephone terminal was completely tied up with preparations for handling the United Nations traffic but that we might even be able to get our calls through by October 25. I immediately sent you a cable rounding up the situation as of that moment, and I also attempted to book a call to London (AND PARIS.) I was unsuccessful in this because (LINES "OUT OF ORDER".) HOWEVER I HAVE PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE OF SEVEN PRIVATE CALLS TO U.S. AND TWO TO ENGLAND THAT HAVE BEEN COMPLETED SINCE OCTOBER 15. the booking office was not available on the telephone.

Meanwhile Stevens and Magidoof and I had established that to the best of our knowledge none of the service messages we had sent New York since about October tenth had ever left Moscow. The censorship had killed our cables advising you all in New York that we would try to reach you by telephone, and advising you of the course of events. Even had my calls not been cancelled I would not have been able to speak to you because the outline of my part of our projected conversation, a script of several hundred words which I had to submit to censorship on October 18 before the time scheduled for the first call, has still not been passed. This outline covered only the technical possibilities of this suggested new method.

We have now (AFTER) been trying for (THREE) days to obtain an interview with Zinchenko, the chief of the foreign Office Press Department, who has just returned from vacation. (WE TOLD THIS MORNING HE SUDDENLY LEFT MOSCOW BY AIR. WE WILL NOW TRY SEE DEKANOZOV.) We have had no success. Until we speak to him I will not be able to give you my final estimate. Magdioff, Stevens and I have been operating in complete unison in this matter. There is no difference either in the treatment given any of us or in our reactions.

At the moment it seems indubitable to me that the

at the moment it seems impolitic to say that the
problem given me is as to its resolution.

It concerns action in this matter. There is no difference either in
official assistance. Meggiott, Stevens and I have been operating
[illegible] We [illegible] trying [illegible] days to obtain an
interview with Dinsmore, the chief of the Florida State Prison
Department, who was just returned from vacation. [illegible]
[illegible]. [illegible] to him I have will not be able to give
you of their participation if the call until today Ottmer is.
was very apologetic and also explained that the overseas telephone
terminal was completely tied up with preparations for handling the
United Nations traffic but that we might even be able to get our
calls through by October 25. I immediately sent you a cable regard-
ing the situation as of that moment, and I also attempted to book
a call to London; I was unsuccessful in this because [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[

Soviet authorities, recognizing the undesirability of an open break, will try to postpone the present situation indefinitely. Thus we would force us take the decision and the responsibility of pulling out ourselves - a move which would be inevitable if the present conditions were to continue.

Under these circumstances we here have been exercising utmost patience, have been undeterred by numerous rebuffs from trying in every way to find a solution. We want the record to show that our ultimate withdrawal, which now seems certain, will not have been the result of our own or our companies' actions but will have been official soviet policy as effective as forcible expulsion.

We have also been actuated by realization that a Moscow office is a valuable piece of property, and one which once lost will probably not be regained. It is worth a few more weeks of frustration to establish beyond any doubt whether there is any real point in maintaining these offices.

It seems to me that you would do well to consider these following three possibilities: Firstly, that I remain here and send you cabled material; secodnly, that I depart here quietly and leave our competent secretary to keep the office open against some future day when broadcasting is once again possible; thirdly, that when you decide that I should go you make a public announcement to the effect that I have been to all practical intents and purposes expelled.

The first possibility seems to me to have little to recommend it - I would be able in effect only to duplicate the agencies. This should not be worth the expense of keeping me here. As far as the second and third are concerned I

present conditions were to continue.

hope to be able to make an intelligent recommendation after we have seen ~~Zinchenko~~ DEMANDED/ and have assessed the chances of resuming broadcasts.

YOU MIGHT TRY CONFRONT MOLOTOV AND ZINCHENK WITH THIS SITUATION IN NEW YORK.

X The material in this telegram is for your confidential information and not for publication. I think you can answer through the State Department if you prefer not to use open channels.

The material in this telegram is for your confidential information and not for publication. Then I think you can answer through the State Department if you prefer not to use open channels.

COPY OF LETTER SENT TO EDDY GILMORE on 28 OCTOBER 1946

Dear Mr. Gilmore,

We have seen the article you wrote for the Saturday Evening Post entitled "I Get Along With Russians". It contains statements which we cannot allow to remain unchallenged.

We agree that your social successes are your own concern, but we would like to record that your inferences that nothing is easier than social contact with the Russians is a gross exaggeration. What does concern us is the delightfully instructive picture of you leaning on Mr. Molotov's doorbell. By this you imply that Soviet officialdom is readily accessible to correspondemts. You must know this is not true.

You picture Soviet censorship as a benevolent institution. You say, "The Russian censors .... would pass our stories through only after careful reading and after they were sure there were no misstatements of fact " This too, you must know, is not so. More than that, it is inconceivable to us that any correspondent should suggest cheerful acceptance of any censorship anywhere. This should be especially true of the arbitrary and suppressive political censorship which prevails here.

Your statements appeared in a national magazine and obtained wide circulation. For our own protection and the protection of those who read our censored dispatches we felt this letter necessary. We would like you to know that we intend to forward a copy to the Saturday Evening Post by open mail.

(signed) David Brown Reuters
Walter Cronkite United Press
Richard C. Hottelet CBS
Drew Middleton New York Times
Craig Thompson Time and Life
Robert Magidoff NBC
Edmund Stevens The Christian Science Monitor
Alexander Werth The Manchester Guardian

COPY OF LETTER SENT TO MARY BLAKELY on 16 OCTOBER 1944

Dear Mr. Blakely,

We have seen the article you wrote for the Saturday Evening Post entitled "I Get Along With Russians". It contains statements which we cannot allow to remain unchallenged.

We agree that your social successes are your own concern, but we would like to record that your interview with Molotov is greater than mere social contact with the Russians in a press capacity. That does concern us in the following picture of you issuing an Molotov's decrees. By this you imply that Soviet efficiency is really satisfactory correspondents. You must know this is not true.

The picture Soviet censorship as a convenient institution. You say, "The Russian censors .... would pass our stories through only after carbon reading and after they were there were no misstatements of fact." This too, you must know, is not so. More than that, it is inconceivable to us that any correspondent should suggest the powerful agencies of any government anywhere. This should be especially true of any writers and impressive political personality within present use.

Various statements appeared in a national magazine and obtained wide circulation. Per our own protection and the protection of those who read our censored dispatches we felt this letter necessary. We would like you to know that we intend to forward a copy to the Saturday Evening Post by open mail.

(signed) David Brown Masters
Walter Cronkite United Press
Richard C. Hottelet CBS
Drew Middleton New York Times
Craig Thompson Time and Life
Robert Magidoff NBC
Eleanor Stevens The Christian Science Monitor
Alexander Werth The Manchester Guardian

(COPY OF A LETTER SENT ON 22 OCTOBER 1946)

Mr. Eddy Gilmore
AP Correspondent
Metropole Hotel
Moscow

Dear Mr. Gilmore,

We have seen the article you wrote for the Saturday Evening Post entitled "I Get Along with Russians". It contains statements which we cannot allow to remain unchallenged.

We agree that your social successes are your own concern, but we would like to record that our efforts to establish normal social ~~xxkxxkxxxx~~ contacts with Russians have been rebuffed. What does concern us is the delightfully instructive picture of you leaning on Mr. Molotov's doorbell. By this you imply that Soviet officialdom is readily accessible to correspondents. You know this is not true.

You picture Soviet censorship as a benevolent institution. You say: "The Russian censors ... would pass our stories through only after careful reading and after they were sure there were no misstatements of fact." This, too, you know is not so. More than that, it is inconceivable to us that any correspondent should suggest toleration for any censorship anywhere. This should be especially true of the suppressive political censorship which prevails here.

Your statements appeared in a national magazine and obtained wide circulation. For our own protection and the protection of those who read our censored dispatches we felt this letter necessary. We would like you to know that we intend to forward a copy to the Saturday Evening Post by regular channels.

David Brown	Reuters
Walter Cronkite	United Press
Richard C. Hottelet	Columbia Broadcasting System
Drew Middleton	New York Times
Craig Thompson	Time and Life

(COPY OF A LETTER SENT ON 22 OCTOBER 1986)

Mr. Andy Ulmore
Ac Correspondent
Metropole Hotel
Moscow

Dear Mr. Ulmore,

We have seen the article you wrote for the Saturday Evening Post entitled "I Get Along with Russians". It contains statements which we cannot allow to remain unchallenged.

We agree that your postal problems are your own concern, but we would like to record that our efforts to establish normal postal exchanges with Russians have been rebuffed. What does concern us is the deliberate inaccuracy of your impressions of Mr. Golovkov's doorbell. By this you imply that contact with Russians is readily accessible to Americans. Your story is not true.

The picture Soviet censorship as a benevolent institution. You say: "The Russian censors ... would pass our stories through only after several reading and after they were sure there were no misstatements of fact." This, too, is not so. More than that, it is inconceivable to us that any correspondent should maintain toleration for any censorship whatever. This should be especially true of the correspondent who proudly tells of his outspoken criticism of Soviet practices.

Your interests mingled in a national magazine and national wide circulation. For the Soviet citizen and the American people alike, we feel this is a disservice.

We write like this to you to know that we intend to forward a copy to the Saturday Evening Post by regular mail.

David Brown
Walter Cronkite
Clifford Evans
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York Times
Time and Life
David Thomson
Ilsey Mindlin
Walter Wellman

Hotel Metropole
Moscow
12 October 1946

Mr. V. S. Vasilenko
Acting Chief
Press Department
Foreign Office
Moscow

Dear Mr. Vasilenko,

Following your suggestion, I hereby formally apply for official accreditation to the Foreign Office Press Department as the Moscow correspondent of the magazine Newsweek.

As you know, Newsweek is a weekly news magazine. Its President and Publisher is Mr. Malcolm Muir. Its editorial and executive offices are in the Newsweek Building, Broadway and 42nd Street, New York 18, N.Y.

I enclose a cable I have just received from Mr. Harry Kern, Foreign Editor of Newsweek asking me to apply for accreditation. Mr. Kern informs mexthat he cabled you a similar request on September 26th.

Please let me know if there are any other steps I should take. I should be very pleased to have your prompt decision.

Yours very truly,

Richard C. Hottelet

Moscow

10 October 1946

The Chairman
Radio Committee
Moscow

Dear Sir,

The Anglo-American Department of the Radio Committee has cancelled the current schedules of the Columbia Broadcasting System, and of the American Broadcasting Company. It has also informed us all that, because of a revision of its schedule, the Radio Committee will have no time available for foreign broadcasters "for a long time".

We were informed this afternoon by the Acting Chief of the Foreign Office Press Department, Mr. V. S. Vasilienko, that the Foreign Office confirms our status as accredited radio broadcasters with the right to broadcast, and that the decision to deprive us of broadcasting time was made by the Radio Committee.

We therefore request that the Radio Committee make available in its new schedule sufficient time to enable us to broadcast as before, or, for the time being, to continue the old.

Meanwhile, in order properly to explain the present situation to our home offices, we request the following information:

1) Is the Radio Committee making any provision in its new schedule for broadcasts by foreign radio correspondents?

2) If so, what plans are being made? When will it be possible to resume such broadcasts?

3) If no plans are being made for such broadcasts, would the Radio Committee give us an official explanation in anticipation of the numerous questions that will be raised in the United States?

Would you be so kind as to provide us with the above information, or any part of it, in the shortest possible time?

Yours truly,

Richard C. Hottelet
CBS

Robert Magidoff
NBC

Edmund Stevens
ABC

Arbat 12606

Hotel Metropole
9 September 1946

Mr. K. E. Zinchenko
Director of the Press Department
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Dear Mr. Zinchenko,

During your absence I had several occasions to write Mr. Vasilenko, calling his attention to various baffling performances by Glavlit.

It is not that I do not understand the nature of censorship, because I have been called upon to work under different conditions of censorship since I first became a correspondent. Nor is it a complete lack of knowledge of the specific purpose of its censorship that makes Glavlit so much a riddle for me, because - although I have never seen one of its directives - I think I can guessa at the broader outlines of its policy.

What utterly defeats me about Glavlit is the irregularity of its performance. As I explained to Mr. Vasilenko, words and passages have been cut from my copy on occasion in such a way that I could only presume some unknown wellwisher was trying to alter my style without affecting the sense. On other occasions direct quotesfrom Pravda and othernewspapers have been deleted. There seems, quite frankly, to be no material published or unpublished, comment or quotation, political or nonpolitical which one can be reasonably certain will remain unmutilated.

The most recent instance occurred over the week end. There were two cases in which I employed the same material for broadcasts to Columbia and for a cable to Newsweek. The first was a story of the manager of an amusement park here who was criticized for having arranged a display of cartoons on bad behavior. The pointe was contained in a direct quotation from Moscow Bolshevik which said, "The management of the park forgets the simple truth that everything it organizes, be it an exhibition or concert or carnival must serve the noble purpose of the ideological and political education of youth." Despite the fact that this precise quotation hadk been passed for my broadcast on Friday morning, and despite the fact that it was a direct quote (and it was not at all torn from its context) from the Moscow Bolshevik, Glavlit cut it out of my cable to Newsweek on Friday evening.

The second case was on Sunday, mwhen my broadcast included mention of the Writers' Union resolution in which the

Hotel Metropole
9 September 1946

Mr. K. K. Zinchenko
Director of the Press Department
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Dear Mr. Zinchenko,

During your absence I had several occasions to write Mr. Vasiliewa, calling his attention to various baffling performances by Glavlit.

It is not that I do not understand the nature of censorship, because I have been called upon to work under different conditions of censorship since I first became a correspondent. Nor is it a complete lack of knowledge of the specific purposes of its censorship that makes Glavlit as much a riddle for me, because - although I have never seen the directives - I think I can guess at the broader outlines of its policy.

What utterly defeats me about Glavlit is the irregularity of its performance. As I explained to Mr. Vasiliewa, words and passages have been cut from my copy on occasions in which I could only presume some unknown motivation was trying to alter my style without affecting the sense. On other occasions direct quotations from Pravda and statements by Soviet officials which can be reasonably certain will remain unmodified, have been deleted. There seems, quite frankly, to be no material for predicting to Columbia and for a cable to Moscow. The same is true of the standard of censorship as applied to my dispatches to Columbia, whether it be of an unfavorable comment, treatment or quotation, political or economic.

The most recent instance occurred over the week end. There were two cables in which I employed the same material for presentation to Columbia and for a cable to Moscow. The first was a story of the manager of an amusement park where the Russian Philharmonic was entertaining a display of cartoons we had received. The points was contained in a direct quotation from Russian Metanevik which said, "The management of the park forgets the simple truth that everything it organizes, be it an exhibition or concert or carnival must serve the noble purpose of the ideological and political education of youth." Despite the fact that this Pravda quotation had been passed for my predecessor on Friday morning, and despite the fact that it was a direct quote (and it was not at all torn from its context) from the Moscow newspaper, Glavlit cut it out of my cable to Moscow on Friday evening.

The second case was on Sunday, when my broadcast [illegible] version of the Kriloff Swiss reception in which the

poetry of Boris Pasternak was condemned as byezidyenost and apolitichnost. I followed this fact with the comment, "Boris Pasternak is generally considered, by foreign critics at least, to be Russia's greatest contemporary poet." This, I think you will agree, is a moderate as well as accurate identification of Pasternak. The sentence I cite was cut by Glavlit. I had to broadcast the bald criticism of Pasternak without any amplification - a practice even worse in radio than in printed copy. All the greater was my surprise when I found that a cable I sent Newsweek at almost the exact time I went on the air, which contained the sentence "this first public denunciation in new literary cleanup of generally acknowledged greatest contemporary russian poet" went through without a word cut.

I trust this complaint will be useful to you if you should have occasion to discuss policy with Glavlit.

My purpose in writing you in this matter is not to plead for greater consistency on Glavlit's part, because such consistency is likely to take the form of cutting all of what Glavlit might consider borderline cases rather than leaving them in. What I mean to say is that here two censored items did really go out, yet not the most delicate political seismograph would ever detect the least tremor in the position of the Soviet Union as a result. Would it not be the same in other, similar, material? Could not censorship be relaxed at least for topics that have nothing to do with international politics?

Yours respectfully,

Richard C. Hottelet
CBS Moscow Correspondent

P.S. I'm sorry not to have had a chance to see you since you returned from Paris, but I should like to have a chat with you when we return from our trip.

poetry of Boris Pasternak was condemned as byzantynost and

5 September 1945

Mr. J. V. Stalin
Chairman of the Council of Ministers
Kremlin, Moscow

Dear Mr. Stalin,

May I submit the following questions, your answers to which would be of great interest to the American people and to the world?

1) How much progress has been made in this past year toward a just and lasting peace?

2) Is the Paris Peace Conference making any real contribution toward this goal?

3) What do you consider the most important problem, actual or implied, before the Peace Conference? Is it being dealt with adequately?

Yours respectfully,

Richard C. Hottelet
Moscow Correspondent, CBS

Moscow, 29th August, 1946.

xxxxxxxxxxxxx

Mr. V.S. Vasilenko,
Acting Chief, Press Department,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Dear Mr. Vasilenko,

My wife, Ann Hottelet, who lives in Moscow with me, wishes to go to Stockholm by boat from Leningrad on September 15th, to meet her father.

I would be grateful if you would instruct your Visa Department to grant my wife a return visa for the Soviet Union, as she intends to return here by the next boat, leaving Stockholm October 1st, and will be away only two weeks.

Yours very truly,

Richard C. Hottelet

Moscow, 26 August 1946
xxxxxxxxxxxx

Mr. V. S. Vasilenko
Acting Chief, Press Department
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Dear Mr. Vasilenko,

The censorship has again left me no alternative but to protest to you against yet another bizarre exercise of its function.

You are probably almost as weary, Mr. Vasilenko, of receiving my protests as I am of making them. But, as you know, there is no other quarter in all of Moscow to which we correspondents can turn with our problems than to xmur your office. Although you have not, as yet, favored me with a reply to the various requests and protests I have sent you, I trust that they are receiving your consideration.

The broadcast that I was to have made this afternoon was so mauled by Glavlit as to make it impossible for me to go on the air with it. It was a broadcast about my efforts to learn the Russian language, a subject with about as much political significance as a bottle of Vodka. It was, as you can imagine, a humorous piece. The points it touched on were dealt with in a light vein.

The points which Glavlit considered to be in the interests of the security of the State (or whatever else Glavlit's standard is) to cut were: a reference to the myaky znak as a "xxxxxx little typical Russian monstrosity"; a short discussion of the similarities I found between the Russian language and the German - with the apparently shattering statement that the word stul means chair in both; and a short discussion of the fact that the Russian language has no word or designation such as Mistress(Mrs.) or Miss to distinguish a married from an unmarried woman.

If you wish I will send you a copy of the broadcast. Not only did I wish to protest against the capricious excision of such completely nonpolitical and nontendencious remarks when I cancelled my broadcast, but also against the fact that one major cut had been made in such a way as to leave an entire paragraph hanging in the air. To have done so would have exposed me to the charge of having produced an incoherent and distinctly second rate broadcast. I would

rather not go on the air.

I cannot imagine what went on inside the censor's head when he made these cuts. But it seems to me that he is not solely to blame. The whole way the censorship functions is at least as much at fault. I feel that had I been able to talk to the man who censored the script he would have seen how pointless his cuts were.

But, as you know, in dealing with Glavlit we deal with a stone wall. We hand our scripts in to a secretary in the Telegraf building and she takes them through a door - we do not know where, we do not know to whom. If we ask to see a censor we are given a look of such sincere compassion that we do not ask a second time. The only thing to do when a script is rendered unfit to broadcast is to write a new one. Even if one were minded to do so there is only exceptionally sufficient time. Cannot something be done about this state of affairs?

We are here in Moscow as correspondents to do the best we can to tell the truth as we see it, which is all one can ask of a human being. We suffer personally when some heavy hand cuts the humor out of a humorous piece, tears the point out of a collection of facts or emasculates an analysis. But it is not we alone who suffer, and our chagrin is only the temporary exasperation of someone who is prevented, for the time being, from doing his best work. What suffers far more, in the long run, is the trust that people in the rest of the world place in information emanating from your country.

Others have put this far more eloquently and forcefully than I ever could, but as a working reporter I feel I must say it for myself. The sort of censorship against which I protest in this letter is perfectly apparent to the world outside. In the United States the existence of a censor in time of peace is a warning light against the information he lets pass. Although I feel sure that your country thinks of the censor as an agency to make ~~xxxx~~ certain that its case is heard, I think the effect is to the contrary - that censored news will tend more and more to be ignored.

Yours very truly,

Richard C. Hottelet

xxxxxxxxxxx

Moscow, 20 August 1946

Mr. V.S. Vasilenko
Acting Chief, Press Department
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Dear Mr. Vasilenko,

Now that summer is coming to an end, and the new school year is approaching I'd like to start gathering some material on education. Would you please arrange whatever is necessary to get a good overall picture of Moscow University - its student body, its faculty, its curriculum? I should like to speak to the Rector, and to the Deans of various faculties and to any student groups. I presume that some lectures and seminars are held in English or German, I would appreciate an opportunity to attend one or more.

The same goes for the medium and elementary school systems.

I am also interested in church affairs, and would like a chance to speak to the Representative of the Soviet Government for the Affairs of the Orthodox Church, also to the Patriarch or some other leading figure of the Orthodox Church. I would like furthermore to collect some information on the position of other churches and denominations in the Soviet Union -- how many members they have, how many churches, where they are most numerous, how their seminaries and monasteries function etc.

Veterans' affairs command a great deal of interest in the United States. I find that I have been able to get only a sketchy picture of the process a man goes through when he is demobilized - not only the purely physical details of his homecoming, but of the help and advice to which he is entitled once he is out of the army. Would it be possible for me to spend a day in some Veterans' Affairs office or Demobilization Commission to see what problems arise and how they are dealt with?

There are all sorts of purely human stories, worth more than millions of words of political exposition

in making the Soviet Union and its people better understood by others,- a purpose which I am sure you and I both are trying to serve. I have heard, for instance, of a remarkable woman who is the head of the Criminal Investigation Department of the Moscow Militia. Her name is Lydia Filipovna Borisova. She would not only have innumerable fascinating stories of her experiences, but would herself provide a Soviet success story which should make an interesting broadcast or article.

Another example of a human interest story would be a day in the main Moscow Marriage License Bureau; or a day in a lower court. These institutions that deal with people, with their hopes and joys and transegressions, can illuminate aspects of life that a ponderous analysis could never touch.

There are a few other things I would like to get information on. One is the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute. I would like to speak to anyone who could give me a picture of how it functions, what its purpose is, and so on.

By the way, I wonder if it would be possible now to have a look at the three dimensional film laboratories and studios here in Moscow about which I spoke to Mr. Simonov a month or two ago. I understand that the three dimensional film "Robinson Crusoe" is now finished. How about getting a preview of some of the rushes at least?

I would be grateful to you for your help in arranging these matters.

Yours sincerely,

Richard C. Hottelet

P.S. I understand that the Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow is open only to people with special passes. Could you please arrange to have such a pass made out for me and my wife?

Moscow, 15 August 1946
xxxxxxxxxxxxx

Mr. V.S.Vasilenko
Acting Chief, Press Department
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Dear Mr. Vasilenko,

When I spoke to Mr. Simenov yesterday I called his attention to the fact that the quality of Glavlit censorship has not changed. It continues to be (I fear I can find no more accurate words) unpredictable, unreasonable and torpid.

May I document my charges? I enclose copies of three out of my last four broadcasts.

In the broadcast of August 11th you will notice that my first sentence was cut, leaving me to back haltingly into my story. Much of the last sentence of the first section was cut. Why I cannot imagine. But the most serious cut came in the second section. Nothing in that second section had not been stated in great detail and considerable color in the press. My compressed summary was, as I think you will agree, a fair and xxx even rather mild generalization. For the censor's benefit I typed in the margin a note that Trud was the main source. But it was cut en masse. ---- Not only was it cut, but it was cut in such a way as to delete all reference to the fact that these mines were in the Soviet Union. The way the censor left my script it might easily have seemed to a casual listener that the mines in question were in Turkey. The question leaps to mind, Mr. Vasilenko, was this censorship cut calculated to producex such an effect or was it merely accidental? --- I call your attention also to the cut in the last paragraph of the script which reduces the paragraph to mere gibberish. Had I read the last two lines my New York office would have had reason to wonder what was wrong with me.

In connection with this first broadcast let me also point out that the censor returned the script to me at the Telegraf at just about five minutes to four. He had had the script almost three hours. I ran all the way to the Radio Committee, which is a fifteen minute walk, and went on the air at 4:10 PM hardly having recovered my breath. Since the Radio Committee also scrutinizes my scripts before I may broadcast I had, in effect, no opportunity to examine my script before I went, panting, on the air.

Permit me then to go on to the second script, broadcast on August 13th. The first four words cut are "remember""still""Marxist""And". I have been speaking the English language for 29 years, and I have been a foreign correspondent for some eight and a half of them. There is, I am sure, much about this language which I must still learn, fine points which I have still to master. May I say therefore that the cutting of the above four words is completely incomprehensible to me. Or has Glavlit begun to censor for style?

In the third script, of August 14th, the last cut again raises the question which I put to you once before, in my letter of July 31st. The sentence "The overwhelming majority of city children in America has never seen and never sees suburban trees or grass" is a direct quotation from the article in the Pionerskaya Pravda. It is an accurate translation and it has not been torn out of its context. May I repeat my question of July 31st? Does Glavlit now exercise an ex post facto censorship of the Soviet press? If this is so we should certainly be advised of this officially. The implications are enormous.

During my conversation with Mr. Simonov I also asked whether any progress was being made in making arrangements for me to see the people and places I have mentioned in previous letters to you. Mr. Simonov assured me that he was doing his best.

I am sure you realize, Mr. Vasilenko, that we correspondents in Moscow are isolated to a far greater degree than I have ever found anywhere that I have been stationed. One great barrier is, in my case, my ignorance of your language. I am trying to remedy that by intensive study. But, great as it is, it is far less than the other circumstances that hem us in. --- To the best of my knowledge (and I should welcome your correction if I am wrong) no correspondent can get in touch with anyone, be he scientist or actor or technician, administrative official or street cleaner for the purpose of collecting news information. No one has ever forbidden this direct approach, but I knew that when I first came to Moscow and telephoned various people for appointments - as I would have done in London or Paris or Rome- I was told politely but firmly that I must contact them only through the Foreign Office.

As I pointed out to Mr. Simonov yesterday, I am afraid that this has produced no greater results. My requests to visit institutions - from three-dimensional film studios to the Academy of Medical Science - have thusfar not been granted. I asked to be taken through the Pravda plant and to speak to some of its personnel, because there is great interest in the United States for a broadcast or article on this important newspaper. This has not yet been arranged, nor does there seem to be any immediate prospect for such a tour.

I raise the matter of the tour of the Pravda plant because visitors to Moscow of one sort and another have been taken through it. The same goes for the Stalin Automobile plant, to which anyone who comes to Moscow is freely taken, unless he comes as a working press or radio correspondent. Clearly it is not physically or technically impossible to visit these places. Then why may we, whose prime function it is to get to know this country well and accurately, not go there?

The Soviet press recently emphasized the freedom of movement and observation enjoyed by foreigners in the Soviet Union. But to my knowledge this has been the privilege mainly if not altogether of Youth Delegations, Good Will Missions and other organized delegations, or of individuals who came to the Soviet Union under the auspices of VOKS or the Ministry of Agriculture or another body. I speak for myself when I say that I do not begrudge any of these people their opportunity to travel and to observe, but comparing theirs with my own I am frankly envious.

The Press Department is, I am certain, as anxious as any correspondent that he be given the means for gathering information at first hand; that his experience in the Soviet Union be extensive and well rounded enough to make his judgment moderate and accurate. It is for this reason that I have spoken frankly on questions of censorship and newsgathering which are so important in a correspondent's work. I sincerely hope something will be done to solve them.

Sincerely yours,

Richard C. Hottelet
Moscow Correspondent

1 August 1946

Mr. V. S. Vasilenko
Acting Chief, Press Department
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Dear Mr. Vasilenko,

The Collier's Magazine has asked me to write them an article on Medical Research in the Soviet Union. This is not a scientific publication, and the material involved would be the more colorful, easily understandable, general facts that surround medical research and experiment.

Would you please arrange my going to the Academy of Medical Sciences and interviewing scientists there who could give me the over-all picture of medical development in the Soviet Union.

Would you also be so kind as to arrange visits for me to representative medical institutions such as the Botkin Hospital, the Brain Institute and V.I.E.M. etc.

There is in the United States a considerable body of interest in Jewish affairs. I should like to get material for a broadcast or article on Birobidjan. Could you arrange an interview with some one who can tell me about the present state of Birobidjan, how it has progressed since its foundation, and what part it played in the war.

I would appreciate your help in getting the above material in the near future. May I also ask if any steps have been taken to put me in touch with the people I mentioned in my letter of 1 July 1946?

Yours sincerely,

Richard C. Hottelet

Moscow, 31 July 1946

Mr. V. Vasilenko
Acting Director, Press Department
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Dear Mr. Vasilenko,

I must once again protest to you in a matter of censorship. Enclosed you will find a copy of the radio script I submitted this morning. The portions cut by Glavlit are marked.

As you see, the broadcast is exclusively concerned with the editorial that appeared on the front page of this morning's Pravda. I have, for obvious reasons, not parrotted Pravda, but I have adhered very faithfully to the meaning of what I am sure you will agree is a significant editorial.

The first word cut in my script is "embezzlement". At the end of the sixth paragraph in Pravda this is referred to specifically as the falsification of accounts illegally to receive personal bonuses. - And I think this statement is ample justification for my subsequent use of the word "corruption", which Glavlit also cut. (Or, may I refer you to the end of the fourth paragraph in theeditorial, in which the leaders of the KATEK plant are described as "corrupting their subordinates.")

In the third line of the script they cut reference to this state of affairs as existing in Industry, Transport, Construction and Agriculture. May I refer you to Pravda's fifth paragraph which reads, "Unfortunately the KATEK plant is not an isolated instance." And the sixth paragrapn states it very concretely, "The criminal practice of adding figures to state reports to simulate fulfilment of the plan was exposed in a series of industrial enterprises. Such facts were also found in transport, in building organizations and in agriculture." Farther down "protection of the culprits" which was cnarged in so many words by Pravda, was cut from my script.

(over)

Let these examples suffice. Apart from one typing error which had me saying that no more bonuses would be paid to factories, an error I would have caught before I went on the air, none of the other censorship cuts violated the sense of the Pravda editorial.

This incident would be the source only of the usual minor annoyance were it not for the fact that a very important issue is involved. In making the above cuts in my broadcast Glavlit has, in effect, censored Pravda. One becomes accustomed, in the course of time, Mr. Vasilenko, to having the censorship stop what it has not seen printed in the press. One even reconciles oneself to a certain devious and stilted style in reporting news, so that a spirited phrase or an incisive formulation may not catch the censor's eye and die under his pencil. -- And I assure you that in radio, where smoothness of style and simplicity of presentation are everything, this hits us doubly hard. -- But if the time has come when we are no longer permitted to report in Pravda's words what has appeared in Pravda, then an entirely different basis has been established for our work. I hazard the opinion that this is not the case. I should welcome your assurance that it is not so; and even more should I welcome Glavlit's acting on a more tolerable basis.

If I may follow an important matter with one rather less so, may I also call to your attention the fact that Glavlit still takes more than two hours to censor a 90 second script. This continues to be the case despite a longstanding agreement that radio scripts are to be ready - cut or uncut - two hours after submission.

Yours sincerely,

Richard C. Hottelet

22 July 1946

J. V. Stalin
Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.
Kremlin, Moscow

Dear Mr. Stalin,

May I submit the following questions. Your answers would be of particular interest at this time to the American people, who are served by the nationwide facilities of the Columbia Broadcasting System.

1) What difficulties do you consider threaten the work of the imminent Peace Conference in Paris, and how may they be overcome?

2) What can be done to prevent Germany from being split into two distinct parts? How would international relations be affected by such a split?

3) How much progress would you say has been made in this past year toward securing the Peace; and what main steps must still be taken toward this goal?

Yours respectfully,

Richard C. Hottelet
Moscow Correspondent
The Columbia Broadcasting System

18 July 1946

Mr. Simonov
Press Department
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Dear Mr. Simonov,

In my letter of July 5th I asked your help in getting a prominent Soviet journalist to do a broadcast for CBS - for the program "As Others See US" - giving his views on what character traits in the American people could and should be improved.

On July 9th you informed me that such a broadcast was not practicable at that time. My New York office is, however, still very anxious to get such an opinion from Moscow.

I wonder, therefore, if you would be so good as to inquire again. Perhaps it may now be possible to get a man like David Zaslavsky or Karl Hofman. After all, it is only a two and a half minute broadcast which need not cover an enrmous amount of ground.

We would be grateful if you would make further speedy inquiries. We can use the broadcast any time until July 22.

Yours sincerely,

Richard C. Hottelet

18 July 1946

Mr. K.E. Zinchenko
Director of Press Office
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Dear Mr. Zinchenko,

Our week's trip to Stalingrad and Dneprostroi was extremely valuable professionally from every point of view. Not only did it provide considerable news material, but I am sure that the background we all got and the various personal experiences of travelling have brought many things into better focus, and have given us a deeper understanding of your country.

So much is this the case that I, for one, am anxious to do still more travelling. (Particularly since the unfortunate time difference prevents me from broadcasting regularly, and thus gives me free time that I will not have later in the year.)

There are several trips I would like to take. I will list them in the order of preference.

1) To the Ural Industrial Area, specifically Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk, Magnitogorsk and Nizhni-Tagil, to see steel works, coal mines;and plants that were evacuated during the war.

2) To the Kuznetsk Basin, to see the heavy and light industry there.

3) To the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republics and to Kaliningrad (Koenigsberg) to get a general picture of life and reconstruction there since the end of the war.

4) To the oilfields of Baku and Grozny.

I would welcome your suggestions about these or any other trips. I am prepared to go at any time.

May I just remark in closing upon the excellent work Mr. Simonov did on this last trip of ours. Not only was it a pleasure to travel with him, but it was mainly his conscientious ness and imagination that made the journey so much a success.

Yours sincerely,

Richard C. Hottelet

5 July 1946

Mr. Simonov
Press Department
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Dear Mr. Simonov,

The Columbia Broadcasting System is organizing a program entitled "As Others See Us". It will collect from many foreign points comments and criticisms of the American people, with the purpose of reminding the United States of the interdependence of all nations.

Our New York office would like a two and a half minute broadcast by an internationally known Russian journalist, expressing his opinion that Russia can and will cooperate with the United States, among others, in building a better world but that time and effort might be saved if the United States and its people would modify certain traits of character. He would then enumerate any American characteristics hec onsiders particularly eligible for improvement.

It would be desirable if this journalist spoke sufficiently good English to make the broadcast himself, but this is not essential. In the other event I would read the translation of his remarks.

We suggest Karl Hofman, or Isakov or Yermashev, or David Zaslavsky but leave it to you to select anyone you deem suitable.

Because of our trip south it would be necessary to make the broadcast, at the latest, by Monday afternoon, July 8th. I hope you can help us out.

Yours sincerely,

Richard C. Hottelet

1 July 1946

Mr. V.S. Vasilenko
Acting Chief, Press Department
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Dear Mr. Vasilenko,

I would like to ask your help in seeing various people and places in and around Moscow.

We have all heard very much of the Stalin Automobile Factory, and I would like to visit it for a day to see working conditions and the productive process.

I should like to visit and spend a day at one of the Suvorov schools to see how the children live and how they study.

I should like to speak to the Mayor of Moscow to find out from him how Moscow, as one of the world's great cities is solving the problems - overcrowding, repair, new building etc.-that face all big cities these days, London, Paris, New York and others.

I should also like to visit the newspaper Pravda, which is known so well by name in the United States, speak to the editor, see the plant, watch the paper composed.

Your kind assistance in arranging these trips and interviews will be very greatly appreciated.

By the way, is there any prospect of the trip to Stalingrad and the Donbass for which Drew Middleton and I have applied?

Sincerely yours,

Richard C. Hottelet

Telephone PEnnsylvania 6-1200 Cable Address: METOPERA, New York

METROPOLITAN OPERA ASSOCIATION, Inc.
METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE
NEW YORK

Kurt Adler
131 West 58th Str.
New York City

my wife: Nina Teodorowna Boldina
born March 30th, 1912 in Balshov,
Saratov Region

my daughter: Ingrid Kurtowna Adler
born March 31st, 1938 in Stalingrad

were living in Stalingrad Ul. Stepana Razina 8/9
In 1942 were evacuated to Barnaul, Altai Region
Ul. Malo-Altaiskaya #2.
I have official confirmation of this by
the Central Red Cross Bureau of Investigation
in Buguruslan, Tchkalov Region, dated
Nov. 21, 1944

People who could be helpful in getting in touch with my wife and child:
Igor Vladimirovich Vyezhny, Director of First Art Theater in Moscow.
(friend of mine)
Maria Petrowna Maksakova, leading Mezzo-Soprano of Bolschoi Theater in Moscow (sang Carmen under my direction in Kiev 1934)
Iew Nikolayewich Oborin, Pianist, Moscow
Lubjansky projezd 21/2 Tel. 13-1-76
played the "Emperor Concerto" under my direction in Stalingrad 1936/37. Will be in Europe in May to play at Edinburgh Music Festival
Georgi Jakovlewich Edelman, Pianist,
Moscow Trubnaya Ul. 25/25 Tel. 3-31-
in Stalingrad

Other ways of finding out whereabouts may be:
[illegible] of [illegible]
(City Soviet)
or anyone known to the Eric Johnson party known to them at their stopover in Novosibirsk may be able to investigate in Barnaul, which is still about 100 miles south of Novosibirsk.

also the Gorispolkom in Stalingrad could be consulted. My wife may have been settled in Stalingrad.

Please, find out about my wife's health of both of them, about my wife's status (whether she is still married to me), whether she would like to come to U.S, if possibility exists.
Tell her that I am still single, that I consider myself married to her, and would like to take up correspondence with her.

21. июня
1946

В БЮРО ПО УЧЕТУ БЕЗ ВЕСТИ ПРОПАВШИХ

Москва
Климентовский пер. 1

Американское Представительство "Колумбия" обращается к Вам с просьбой навести срочную справку о настоящем местожительстве НИНЫ ФЕДОРОВНЫ БОЛДИНОЙ, уроженке Балашева, Саратовской обл. год рождения 1912 и ее дочери Ингрид Куртовны АДЛЕР, родившейся в Сталинграде 31-гл марта 1938г. Обе до войны проживали в гор. Сталинграде, Ул.Степана Разина 8/8 и были эвакуированы в 1942г. в гор. БАРНАУЛ, Алтайского края, Мало-Алонская ул. д. 2. Дальнейшая их судьба нам неизвестна. Нина Федоровна Болдина является женой известного американского дирижера КУРТА АДЛЕРА.

Очень просим Вас возможно скорее сообщить нам о результатах Вашиз розысков по адресу: Москва, Гостиница "Метрополь", клмн. 348. Американское Представительство "Колумбия". Тел. К-420-00, доб. 348.

Заранее выражаем свою благодарность

С совершенным почтением

АМЕРИКАНСКОЕ ПРЕДСТАВИТЕЛЬСТВО
" Колумбия" Ричард ЗОТТЕЛЕТ.

письмо в Киеву
Ст. инс. Зал
27/VI 46 г.

June 20,1946
Moscow.

Mr.Vladimir Kemenov
V o k s
Moscow

Dear Mr.Kemenov,

On or about July 8-th our most outstanding American radio dramatist will arrive in Moscow. His name is Norman Corwin. You will undoubtedly have heard of his most recent work, "On a Note of Triumph", which was a succes fou in the United States a year ago, and will certainly be accounted one of the most preeminent dramatic broadcasts of these years.

Mr.Corwin, although attached to the Columbia Broadcasting System, is coming to Moscow as the winner of the first Wendell Willkie One World Award. This is an award named after the great American statesman who until his death was an outstanding proponent of international understanding and cooperation.

It takes the form of a round the world mision of cultural interchange designed to promote good will among peoples, and especially among artists who give expression to the feelings of the people. Mr.Corwin was honored with this award for his "On a Note of Triumph".

On this trip around the world Mr.Corwin carries with him messages and resolutions from a number of cultural organizations. And in his radio capacity Mr.Corwin, assisted by Mr. Lee Bland who accompanies him, will utilize recording and other techniques to implement his messages. Upon his return to the United States he will incorporate the recorded material in a series of full radio productions, in a report to the American people.

We turn to you,Mr.Kemenov, to enlist your support for this undertaking. Messrs.Corwin and Bland are bringing with them a wire recording apparatus. They

will need a really quiet hotel room in which to work and transportation for their somewhat heavy but portable equipment. A big ZIS should suffice. The Columbia Broadcasting System will, of course, defray the expense.

But such physical requirements are only instrumental. Mr.Corwin would like to interview English speaking high government officers and party leaders. He would like to speak to the Minister of Public Health, with leaders of the trade union movement and of industry. Nor would his trip be complete without close contact with representatives of film, radio, theater and music. Other possible interviews might me some English speaking citizens, perhaps demobilized soldiers going back to their peacetime occupations; or a visit to the English class of one of the Suvorov schools or a visit to an English language program on Moscow radio. I suggest these only as sketchy examples. You, I am sure, will have more rewarding suggestions to offer.

May we ask you, Mr.Kemenov, to make the necessary arrangements for such an itinerary, and for lodging and transport. You will, I feel sure, be doing a service to both our countries. You will be assisting the cause of mutual understanding among peoples at a time when it is badly needed.

Please let me know if you wish any further information.

Yours truly

Richard C. Hottelet
Correspondent
Columbia Broadcasting System.

June I7, I946.
Moscow.

Mr. K.E.Zinchenko
Director of Press Office
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Moscow

Dear Mr.Zinchenko,

A week or so ago I had the occasion to call to your attention an example of unreasonable Glavlit censorship. I a m sorry that I now again feel compelled to make a complaint about this organisation.

It had been the practice for a very long time for the censor to return radio broadcasta within two hours of submission. It had also been the practice to give radio broadcasts priority in the order of censorship. Both of these usages are reasonable and a propos, since they arise out of the nature of a broadcast script. A script is a finished product, there are no subeditors between a broadcaster and his listeners. It must be stylistically as well as logically of high quality. Furthermore a script is bound to a definite time of only two or three minutes. One minute too soon it is worthless, and doubly worthless one minute too late.

I say that returning a script in two hours and giving a radio broadcast priority had been the practice. From my experience in recent weeks this is no longer the case. On every occasion, with but one or two exceptions, my scripts have been returned only just barely in time for me to run to the radio committee. On one occasion an entire script was killed with scarcely enough time left for me to telephone the radio committee to tell them I was unable to broadcast.

On Sunday,June I6-th, I submitted a two and a half minute script to the censor at about I2:40 PM. By half past three it has still not been passed. The script was plainly marked for broadcast at 4:07:30 PM, and I went around to the Telegraph myself to save a few minutes of the way to the Radio Committee. Finally,at eight minutes to four, the script was brought down. I enclose a copy, with cuts marked, to show you what it took a professional censor three hours and twelve minutes to cut. May I add, parenthetically, that the first

cut was contained in almost so many words in the latest issue of New Times. At any rate I succeeded in arriving at the studio, breathless and soaked with perspiration, only just in time to go on the air.

A professional censor sitting in the Telegraph cannot but know that it is a fifteen minute walk to the Radio Committee, and that the script is read there once again before we are permitted to broadcast. I can therefore draw only two alternative conclusions - either it was the censors intention to wreck my broadcast by with holding the script until it was too late, or else the censor does not know his job.

Be that as it may, I think you will agree with me, Mr.Zinchenko, that this state of affairs is intolerable. I therefore request that the censorship of my radio broadcasts be transferred to the Radio Committee. There we can at least count on finding understanding of the purely technical problems of our profession.

Very sincerely yours

Richard C. Hottelet
Correspondent
Columbia Broadcasting System.

9 June 1946

Mr. K.E. Zinchenko
Director of the Press Office
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Moscow

Dear Mr. Zinchenko

When we discussed the matter of censorship the other day you invited me to consult with you on specific problems or disagreements that might arise.

May I now bring to your attention an example of censorship which, I submit, is unreasonable.

Enclosed is a copy of part of my telegram to Newsweek, sent on June 7, 1946, describing the funeral ceremonies for M.I.Kalinin. The cuts are underlined.

I trust this illustration may be of use to you in dealing with Glavlit censorship problems.

Yours very sincerely,

Richard C. Hottelet

Hotel Metropole
1 October 1946

Dear Ted,

Enclosed is the September swindle. I'm afraid that henceforth our cost estimates here are going to be higher than I gauged them in my letter to you a couple of months ago. And thereby hang several tales.

On September 16th prices of foodstuffs (ration prices, that is) went up an average of three hundred percent. To illustrate - black bread went from one ruble a kilo to 3.60. Graybread from 1.70 to five something. White bread from 2.80 to 8. -- Sugar went from 5 to 15 rubles a kilo. Meat from 12 to 34 rubles a kilo. (Pork from 14 to 44 rubles.) Butter went from 28 to 66, cheese from 30 to 76 rubles a kilo.

This change was ballyhooed here, as everything that ever happens is, as a great boon and gift to the people. Because at the same time commercial prices came down (butter came down from 320 to 200 rubles a kilo, sugar from 150 to 75 rubles a kilo just to give you an idea), which made them only slightly less impossible for the purse of the average citizen. And, at the same time, wages below 900 rubles got a staggered raise. (Which meant, indidentally, that I've had to give our courier a raise from 500 to 600 rubles for four weeks).

It was ballyhooed, as I say, as a terrific favor to the people. Ostensibly by narrowing the tremendous gap between the commercial black market prices and the ration prices it will assist the abolition of rationing which will take place next year. In actual fact it hit everyone in Russia right square between the eyes. The average wage in the Soviet Union is still below 500 rubles a month. You can figure out for yourself how far that will go in a grocery store today. For the first time since I've been here food queues have practically disappeared. White bread is easily obtainable, grocery stores are seldom crowded. The reason is that many people now cannot afford to buy even their full food ration. You should have seen the people around here after the new prices (which came practically without warning) went into effect. The universal question was, how in God's name are we going to make ends meet? In the factories throughout Moscow the 7,000 professional agitators are being kept very busy explaining to the workers that it's really only another method thought out by a beneficent state to ensure the glorious future.

We got back to Moscow from our trip a week after all this happened, and there was no occasion to write anything about it until you asked for a two minute story to wind up the Feature Story series. The Radio Committee wouldn't give me air time, said it was "impossible"(which is patently hooey in light of the vast quantities of recorded music they put out) and left me with no other choise than to cable you a piece. I chose to send you a common man piece, rounding up the two most important things that have happened to Ivan Ivanovich the past couple of weeks - Joe's statement and the price rise. I submitted it to the censorship on Thursday night (you wanted it for Friday) and was not informed until Friday night that it had been killed in its entirety. I enclose it for your edification. There was no time to do any more about it. I rushed you a cable explaining what had happened, which you may or may not have received.

That "impossibility" to broadcast twice in one day marks a noticeable deterioration in our relations with the Radio Committee. (After all, why the hell should my relations be any exception?) On Monday (yesterday) I got your cable about the new footnote program and immediately called the Radio Committee to book a circuit. It was "impossible" for Monday, but maybe okay for today. We negotiated for a few hours and they consented to give me a four minute spot for recording the piece on the collective farm today, an hour before the regularly scheduled news spot. I sat down yesterday evening and carefully wrote as full an explanation of the present collective farm picture as

was compatible with what I thought the censor would pass. I took it over to the censorship last night. This afternoon at quarter to three (half an hour before air time) and after much telephoning back and forth with the Glavlit, the piece emerged, properly massacred. Its troubles and mine were by no means over. Before I can go on the air I have to submit my copy to a little at the Radio Committee. While I stood in his anteroom he began much lively telephoning, part of which I could overhear. Air time was 1214 GMT, 1514 Moscow time. 1510 came around, 1514, 1520, 1528. Finally I was asked inside and informed that the censorship had called him up and informed him it had changed its mind, the script couldn't be allowed to go on the air. I agreed that the censorship had certainly achieved that, but why?

Well, said this runt unctuously, there are various errors of fact. Okay, said I, I'm as likely as anyone else to make mistakes. Tell me what they are and I'll fix 'em. — For one thing, he put his finger on the script, you say the kolkhoz is an agricultural factory, well, it isn't. — How so, I asked, isn't the kolkhoz the expression of the governments desire to have an agricultural organization which can grow and deliver to the state the maximum of food? — Well, yes, but there are vast differences between a kolkhoz and a factory. — That is manifest, said I, but I don't have time and my listeners wouldn't have the patience to go through the vast technicalities which, in addition to the perfectly obvious differences, distinguish a kolkhoz from a factory. Its description as an agricultural factory is the best thumbnail description I can give of its function and its importance. — Anyway, he pointed farther down, the land does not belong to the farm. — Then how would you say that the farm has the land in perpetuity, I asked.— That is not ownership, — Okay, but what is the practical distinction? I don't have enough airtime to go into the nuances of Soviet real estate.— Well, he oozed, it is an important political distinction. But then farther along you say the machinery and draught animals belong to the state. They don't, they belong to the Kolkhoz. — That's true. My intentionm was to point out that they do not belong to individuals. I'm perfectly willing to change it. But that's surely not sufficient reason to kill the script. — Weeeell, and he wriggled a bit. As a matter of fact the broadcast doesn't give the proper picture. — What proper picture? — It doesn't point out that this decree is intended to increase the democracy of the farms. — That's a new one on me, where do you see that? — In the decree.— I don't. All I see in it is the elimination of various abuses, which I mention, whose removal will restore the democracy of the farm to its prewar state. As a matter of fact, I see three main things in that decree, and I've stated them in this piece: firstly, the order to raise production efficiency; second, to weed out superfluous manpower; third, to enforce greater ideological orthodoxy. This last should be deemed to include your greater democracy. Quite apart from this I point out that outside interference in the affairs of the collective farm is prohibited. — That may be so, but you make it appear as if the abuses are universal. — That's not so, I've said they were widespread. And articles in your press all this summer have given specific examples of these abuses all over the Soviet Union. Moreover, do you think for a minute that Stalin and Zhdanov would sign a decree of this sort to call to order a couple of muzhiks growing extra carrots. The precise statistics are not available to me. As a matter of fact, no statistics are available to me, so I must perforce go by the most official and reliable data I can find. And I don't think there is a single statement in this broadcast which is untrue or unfair. Is there? (and at this point I read him the top paragraph on page two sentence by sentence) Well? — Weeeell, at any rate, we think it gives a distorted picture and it can't go out. That little razgovor went on for about twenty minutes with much polite leering. At the end he announced that he hadn't had the script in good enough time to look it over properly(!) Stifling a guffaw I pointed out

to him that the censorship had had the script a mere matter of 16½ hours and what the hell did he expect me to do? --- Get the script in here to me at least an hour before air time. --- Suits me fine, delighted to, but I have no control over Glavlit. What do you think took them 16½ hours over this simple enough piece? --- That is not my concern, get it in here from now on at least an hour before air time or I won't be able to guarantee that you can meet your schedule. --- Okay, but will you call Glavlit and tell them that you've made a new ruling? --- No, you tell them. --- But I can't tellthem, I don't see them, I can't speak to them. Forall I know those red lines on the script there were drawn by machine. --- Why don't you ask the press department to help you out? he suggested, not unkindly. --- The foreign office press department has told me on a dozen occasions it's got nothing to do with glavlit. But okay, I'll leave them a note in a bottle. But what'll happen if they sit on a script beyond an hour before air time? --- In that case I won't guarantee that you'll get on the air. I'll try my best, of course. --- Of course. --- But I won't guarantee anything.

So I went out, and not even the women who were unloading concrete slabs in the courtyard below, shaking the pouring rain out of their canvas mittens, could have felt quite as browned off as I did.

I came back to the hotel and sent you an urgent cable saying " todays farm footnoter killed because quote did not give proper pictureunquote ". As of late tonight that cable has still not gone, and may be killed in its turn .

Various things develop. One is that we can't count on ever doing two shows a day out of here (even though they may on occasion allow it). Another is that we won't be able to count on being able to order up a circuit on short notice - for instance if something really hot turns up on an unscheduled morning. This has not been possible on several occasions I've tried it, but last saturday for some reason it worked. The third and most important thing is that it shows an attitude toward us which is completely in keeping with the present political situation. Our little friend at the radio committee will be out trying to collect medals for Bolshevik Vigilance, our protests will be answered by an even deeper silence.

The foreign office has, I think, cancelled my accreditation as Newsweek correspondent. Not the slightest effort has been made to get me the various interviews I wanted. Every day, in every way we're made to feel more like enemy aliens. And right now Annie is still in Stockholm on her shopping expedition, so you can imagine how cheerful I feel. This evening I took the second footnoter over to the censorship, the one on the Theater. I'll be interested to see what they do with it. Maybe they'll mangle it too. But one thing I'll never do is stop giving what I think is newsworthy, and giving it truthfully and fairly.

Unfortunately, at the moment, the most newsworthy items are the negative ones, the measures born of stupidity or fanaticism by which this country is trying deliberately to set itself apart from the rest of the world. Therewill be many more howls of "why don't you tell the positive side of the story"? The answer to that is that I will when I see it. I've been through all this before in Germany — it's amazing how great the likeness is. I only hope to God it doesn't wind up the same way, either for me or for us all.

Hope youse all are in better shape than I. Give my love to everyone - Ned and Quincy and Bill Slocum (and congratulate Henry on his rise to the executive level) and all the rest. My best to Ed and Janet and Casey. How about ol' Jerry Maulsby, by the way, I never hear anything about him. — Show Ed this letter. It might amuse him.

Yours,

P.S. By now its 3 October and there are a couple more things to write you. Mainly the sad fate of the footnote on the theater which I was about to take over to the censorship when I wrote you the other day. It was mangled, and I enclose it also as the 98th or 99th horrible example. Unlike the footnote on the Kolkhoz there was not even a pretense that any of the facts in the theater piece were untrue. There has, in fact, been one single new play produced here in the last six weeks. There are, indeed, very few modern foreign plays performed. The only ones I know that appear on programs occasionally, in addition to the two I mentioned, are a piece by Priestley and a modern Yugoslav job. When I say that the CC of the CP is outspoken against foreign plays one has only to read two lines farther on to see exactly to what extent. The words "creation of a" Soviet theater are the CC of the CP's very own. The short outline I give of the stages a play has to pass through to be performed is taken practically verbatim from the Central Committee decree. --- So there you are. Once agai the censorship wasn't prepared to let a report leave the country that did not paint th present situation in favorable, if not glowing terms.

If there were any reason at all, however slight, to adopt a posi view to what is going on here in the field of art an culture they might have a case. But this is impossible unless one is willing completely to junk all intelligent and civilized standards. A witch hunt is in progress now in literature and art and music for which you can find a parallel only in the middle ages and among the Nazis. Theater programs are being gone through with a fine tooth comb, theater directors are sweating blood. They may at any time be exposed to vicious and professionally fatal attack by some hatchet man of the Agitprop Department of the Central Committee for having left something in his repertory, or for having failed to insert something. If he had any wa of knowing what that "something" was in either case life would be simple. But somethin that was all right yesterday is poison today. Club managers, theater directors, newspaper and magazine editors are still being denounced in the press for having long opened their columns or their platforms to vicious, depraved, sinister, perverted scum like the poetess Akhmatova and the writer Zoshchenko who, until the storm suddenl broke on them in the middle of August, were both respected and popular. Akhmatova even had an international reputation as a poetess, Zoshchenko was one of the most wide read of the popular story tellers - as late as July the Pravda publishing house put ou his fatal "Adeventures of a Monkey" in 100,000 copies. Every single person responsibl for artistick presentation or criticism cannot possibly know whether anything he wri or does, or does not write or does not do may not wind him up in the pages of Pravda Izevestia or Kultura y Zhizn. So right now theaters are jettisoning anything tha they feel could possibly attract unpleasant attention to them. I'm told that the Maly Theater has just junked 12 of the plays it had prepared for the current season (I do know which ones). The Bolshoi has been ordered to get some ideological ballet onto t stage and damn quick, so they've dragged an old dog called the "Flames of Paris" out the mothballs and are busy rehearsing it. It's a windy and dull job about the Paris mune of 1871.

The criterion for everything in human experience - be it art or erature, music, journalism, education - is today not truth or sincerity or creati ability. Anything which propagandizes the Party line is good, anything which does no good. Very simple. (I used in a broadcast the other day the fact that Shostak 9th Symphony had been panned because it wasn't ideological). Here is a situati I can find nothing positive, nothing at all. Such beauty as the human being can is being prostituted - and there's no question of turning it into an even super attractive courtesan, these people are turning it into a two bit slut.

I guess I should be getting used to mayhem. I also enclose remains of my 1300 show of 3 October. A direct quote from Pravda, paraphrases sections of todays press were all cut. There was no pretense today either tha I said wasn't true, or that it had been torn out of context. They just didn't

There is a growing, and understandable, reluctance among here, to permitting any material to leave the country that reflects the pres physical condition of the Soviet Union. I was amazed that my long piece on th was allowed out (they probably didn't want to cut anything that was tied up w I frankly never thought that I'd be allowed to point out how pathetically lit accomplished, and how little will probably be accomplished. I never thought

me use the figures we got that the Donbass, which itself is only back to half or less of prewar production, is still at present producing 30 to 40% more than the highly touted new Kuznetsk Basin in Siberia. I was surprised that they let me call the Five Year Plan "pie in the sky" (which is a charitable enough appellation) and point out that the Soviet Union today is barely on the industrial level that is required of a great power (another description which does them perhaps even a bit too much justice).

A telegram of mine which you will probably never get I dispatched to you yesterday. It deals with the unannounced ration cuts that were made on October 1. You remember that on September 16th it was announced that rationing- originally scheduled to end this year - would be extended until next year. Simultaneously the ration prices were raised, as I described earlier in this letter. The reason was not announced (that business of stabilizing prices is boloney). Some people thought it was due entirely to the shortage of food; an attempt to cut down the peoples power to purchase food. Another school of thought was that it would induce or force the workers to work harder, produce more and thus earn more money to buy food with. I think the truth lies in some combination of these two purposes. My theory seems to be supported by the most recent developments. With no announcement, any newspaper or unofficial warning, people who went to their district offices to collect their food ration cards for the month of October received reduced rations. Since there was no announcement we're still picking up the odd bits and pieces. This much we do know. Children's ration (bread) is reduced from 400 to 300 grams a day. The bread ration of non-working dependents (such as housewives) was cut from 300 to 250 grams a day. And the categories of "dependents" (which means people who are legally entitled to ration cards without being employed) were cut down. We don't yet know by exactly how much. The consensus seems to be that now only women above 50 years of age, men above 55 and women with children below the age of eight will be allowed dependents rations. All others will either have to find jobs or starve. In addition to this the various supplementary ration books have not been issued. These are the books issued to socalled responsible workers - state officials, scientific workers, leading industrial workers and engineers, artists, journalists, writers etc - which entitle them to anything from double to four times the normal ration. We don't know yet whether they will still be issued or whether they're cancelled altogether for the time being.

There is obviously a double purpose in these measures - one to squeeze new workers into industry, the other to save food. Now, it's interesting to note that up until very recently the official soviet figures were that this years harvest would be slightly better than last. These present drastic food measures (as far as they are intended to save food) can then be explained in one or more ways; either the original figures were completely faked (it's admitted officially that many were), or the distribution of the existing food is very inefficient (we saw some things on our trip that would support this) or else the government is building up stocks against some emergency.

Not a word of this has been let out nor is likely to be.

The question of manpower is one of the most fascinating in the present Russian picture. Having determined a policy, a yearx or so back, that the Soviet Union would abandon any reliance on an international security organization and would turn to the old Leninist doctrine of inevitable conflict between communist and capitalist societies, it was only natural that the Soviet Government would bend every effort to increasing the material strength of the USSR. The 5 Year Plan was instituted and pressed forward. But you don't charm factories and skilled labor forces into existence. People have to come from somewhere. The labor supply here is not by any means inexhaustible. There were vast losses during the war. There is tremendous wasteful overhead in the armed forces and the security organizations (which some people estimate together at about 6 million men). There are vast needs for sheer physical reconstruction. And in addition and overall is that this is not a productively efficient people. I abhor generalizations about what kind of a nation this is or what national traits and failings another has - but experts in various fields (maybe you've spoken to JohnStrohm by now about the agricultural side of it) say quite coldly and on the basis of intensive study that per capita output here today is only a fraction of per capita output in Britain or America and was not much better before the war. These things combine to make skilled labor an almost unbreakable bottleneck. And it means that, in order somehow to carry out the plan of increasing material strength this government will entice and dragoon as many human beings into industry as it possibly can. One tends to forget that it is

still the law here that each collective farm must deliver to the state two boys of 14-15 years of age and two 16-17 years of age for each hundred of the farm populatio between the ages of 14 and 55, and that city soviets are obliged by the law (of October 2 1940, if you want to look it up) to deliver a number of children of those ages as shall be determined. They are to deliver them for training in trade and industrial schools. Just so you don't think this law is a wartime relic I want to poin out that the new Five Year Plan specifies that 1,200,000 such "labor reserves" be "mobilized" annually. The overall calculation is that 6½ million new workers are ne ed for industry by 1950.

If that isn't slavery I don't know what is. In addition, of coursey convict and German P/W labor are used intensely. We saw some incredible sigh on our trip. In Voroshilovgrad alone we saw three groups of the most ragged, forlorn and brutalized human beings you ever laid eyes on being led along the street by peop in NKVD uniform with tommy guns at the ready. They made a Georgia chain gang look li a physical culture society. One of these three groups was a little one. It consisted two ragged men shuffling along with their arms clasped behind their backs, followed two stalwart young NKVDites with rifles at the ready. In Minsk we saw five women in what must have been burlap sacklike skirts and shawls - one of them barefoot despite the increasing cold - being herded along by a dapper tall blue hat.

Just as a footnote - to give a slight clue as to who the wo at least might have been, - a friend of mine the other day met another friend who ha not been around for 8 or 9 years. The person had been in Siberia. Stamped in that pe passport were the letters ch. s. i. r. which stand for "member of the family of a a traitor to the fatherland". That was this persons only of for which that person was carted off, not to exile but to a prison camp.

It is this sort of circumstance - and others more - that de mines ones outlook to this country. One can reconcile oneself to a low standard of l and to a low standard of culture - what the hell, the fact that a nation is rich or has good taste isn't enough to make it admirable. But one cannot - or at least I dam well can't reconcile myself to the attitude of this state that human beings count fo absolutely nothing, that their lives and their talents, their bodies and souls exist the pleasure and for the benefit of an omnipotent and permanent oligarchy.

A question I ask myself is - will it ever improve? Is this a time of transition, can the ultimate end justify the means? So far I have seen no that this attitude will ever change. It is the hope of the Communist milennium that now become the opium of the masses.

Since I won't have to live here, I ask myself the question whether this state can exist peaceably in a world that contains America. Stalin's an to Werth certainly extended that hope. But the press campaign, the war of nerves aga the outside world never even paused for breath while Stalin made his statement. And few days later, on 28 September to be exact, the Komsomolskaya Pravda came out with statement of the aims of the dictaorship of the proletariat which is the boldest and baldest of any I've seen since I got here, "The main function of the dictatorship of working class is the defense of the socialist progress against an offensive from out As long as we live in a capitalist encirclement the danger of a military offensive outside will still exist. Even in the period of full communism, if the capitalist en- circlement is not destroyed, the state will remain in being, and so will the dictatorsh of the working class as will also the leading role of the Party in this dictatorship. B the state and the dictatorship will wither away under communism if the capitalist encir- ment is liquidated." Let someone ever again try to tell me that the Russians are adopt the measures they are because they're just simple folk who're afraid of a legitima danger. They have established danger as an axiom, as a definition of the present day world. Their only policy is to destroy that danger, and this cannot be done until the balance of world power is irretrievably in the hands of the Kremlin. Until this is ac complished Soviet strategy - however much tactics may alter - will remain the same.

9 August 1946

Mr. Wells Church
CBS 485 Madison Ave
New York 22, NY

Dear Ted,

On August 7 you cabled me a request for a short piece on how the Russian press handled Byrnes challenge to Molotov.

The newspapers trickled in in the course of the morning (some of them share printing presses or something and thus don't get on the street at the same time) and I talked to a few of the people one can talk to, and to make quite sure you got some reaction for the Trout show I shot you a short urgent message which read-

"protrout miniature canvass public opinion today relative merits byrnes molotov arguments showed general reaction eloquent shrug shoulders"

I presume you never got the cable because I have not got my check copy back from the censor.

Together with the urgent message I sent you a longer press rate. I got that copy back from the censor and enclose it for its curiosity value.

I hope all goes well with youse. I'd like very much to hear the stuff the boys are putting out of Paris, but I can't get anything like that on my set.

Give everyone Annie's and my best.

26 August

Mr. Wells Church
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, NY

Dear Ted,

Here we are again, and again with that dull, sick feeling.

The letter to Vasilenko speaks more or less for itself. I enclose the original script, as it came back from the censor. I originally overwrote it by a minute - as I usually do to take care of even the most drastic cuts - and I could have gone on the air with it, I guess, but I was too dam angry. I wasn't really prepared, somehow, for these cuts. At any rate, the cabled backstop I sent you had already been cut by me down to the proper time of five minutes, so when they chopped chunks out of it you had only four minutes or fewer left. I'm sorry, but what the hell can you do?

Here, by the way, is an urgent cable I sent you on 21 August which was killed completely:

"reason believe marshal rokossovsky been relieved his post commander northern group armies para also indirect confirmation marshal konev succeeded zhukov more

"add evidences contained list names signing obituary notice lieutenant general pee ee kokorev chief staff leningrad military district who died august eighteenth stop obituary issued in army newspaper redstar today signed by vassilievsky konev govorov and others in their order of rank stop vassilievsky comes first as chief staff red army stop after him comes commander of ground forces who now apparently konev stop after konev should come commander northern group armies dash since kokorev was leningrad chief staff stop as late as middle july rokossovsky was publicly identified as commander northern group armies but his name missing exthis obituary list stop in his place comes marshal govorov comma who last identified as commander leningrad area etwho now apparently succeeded rokossovsky para konev appointment seems also confirmed viafact konev appeared balcony cumstarin

two Hottelet to Church 26 August 1946

sundays air parade while zhukov absent stop there
been rumors past week of rokossovskys removal stop
one rumor said he would appointed commander moscow
garrison stop this last utterly unconfirmable enditem"

Interesting for itself, for what they cut,
and for the paleontological technique of reporting
it shows you have to develop in Moskva.

Best regards,

Moscow, 20 August 1946

M r. Wells Church
CBS
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Ted,

Here is the latest round in my joust with the censor and the other powers that be.

Again today, by the way, they emasculated a couple of pieces I did - one for Feature Story on the Russian movies in which I pointed out that Stalin is the most enthusiastic critic here. In his private projection room he sees every picture made here. (He also decides which are to be released and which will remain in the can.* It was he who junked Sergei Eisenstein's second part* of Ivan the Terrible.) He also sees all the British and American films that come to Moscow (via OWI etc). His favorite actress is Vivian Leigh. --- The other piece they chopped was the 8AM show. They cut the first three lines completely and left me starting off "As a matter of fact...".

You get a feeling like you'd been kicked in the balls, really. There is no place to appeal to (even if you had the time) and you're absolutely forbidden to change a single word without permission. I do it anyway, but I know very well they must be counting the times and will jump up with a charge, some day when they get very annoyed with me, that I've been violating censorship.

Worst of all is that all these mutilated scripts are bowdlerized in my own mind before I ever write them and submit them to censorship. The censorship is unpredictable - if you could always anticipate what they were goin to cut you'd leave it out to start with. But sometimes they cut one thing, sometimes another and I dont want to feel that I've not said something I could say just for fear of its being cut. So I say a certain number of things. God knows they're watered down enough to start with - but even that doesn't save them from the chopper.

Well, what the hell.

One of these days I'll sit down and give you a couple of home thoughts on features etc. Meanwhile, have you received my previous letters?

Cheers, chum.

Moscow
2 August 1946

Mr. Wells Church
CBS, 485 Madison Ave
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Ted,

Your letter of the fourth of July got here day before yesterday - which is the usual time an airmail letter takes. I think it'd probably be better to address all mail and everything to APO 193.

I was very glad to have so long a letter, because I can imagine the whirl you're in. And I want to answer it today for several reasons, mainly the reason that a pouch is going off this afternoon. I wrote you a letter last month describing briefly the sort of place we live in, but I steered away from politics because in the ordinary run of events the Embassy will not forward mail for us that contains references to controversial matters. And of course there's no chance on earth of getting an outspoken letter to you through the open mail. This time I want to let my hair down as far as facts warrant. But before all that let me get some of this financial business off my chest.

International finance is always an awkward business - letters back and forth overlap like shingles and oustanding questions drag on interminably.

One thing we can clear up right away is the question of Ann's transportation to Moscow. Before I left I asked Ed about it. He wasn't sure what the policy would be and asked me to write him a memo, which I did. On March 25 I got the following memo from Paul White -"We have decided to pay your wife's travelling expenses to Moscow - PWW". I am surprised that there should be no record of this. In the letter you got from Dean inquiring about my expenses he says, "While we paid for Mrs. Hottelet's transportation to Europe, our expenditure was subsequently returned to us." This probably explains my present anemic financial position (which led to the interesting discovery, by the way, that if you've had an account long enough, even with one of the big soulless New York banks, they allow you an overdraft). Please ask Mr. Dean to check this matter. I have only scanty records from my bank for the past four months, and in writing out ~~them~~ checks I rely on my own calculations of what I've earned and what I've told New York to deduct. I would appreciate their not making any deductions in future unless I've authorized them or unless they send me a cable telling me how much they're deducting and why.

By the way, the only salary accounting I've had from the office is for the period ending April 27. If it wouldn't be too much trouble would you please ask them to send me duplicates of the others- there is only one before that - for the period up to March 30 - and perhaps the one up to 24 May.

Now, about the expense accounts. My expense account dated June 11 covers the journey from London to Leningrad. It includes, of course, my wife's travelling expenses. Where we stopped, as we did

in Stockholm , I paid my wife's expenses -- in that June 11 account

you will note that I asked Flynn to deduct $372 for private expenditure. As regards the expense account from Leningrad to Moscow - this includes the RR fare of our secretary to Leningrad, and the RR fare for my wife, the secretary and myself from Leningrad to Moscow. It includes all the secretary's expenses, all my expenses but not my wife's expenses while we were in that city.

That should, I hope, clear up the question of the expense accounts. If Dean has deducted any money from my salary to pay for Ann's passage (as the sentence from his note to you, which I cite above, seems to indicate) please ask him to refund it.

Now comes the matter of expenses in Moscow, which you do not raise but which has never been clarified and is bound to come up. I went around before I left asking just what my financial arrangements here would be. No one said anything definite, except that I'd continue on the same basis as Farny Fowle. This means an allowance of $1000 a month for office, cable and personal expenses. Not knowing any more than anyone else did what conditions here would be like, that was a completely adequate explanation. I hope that Farny has returned to New York by this time,. An hour's conversation with him would be more enlightening to you than ten letters. The situation boils down to this. I find that up until now this $1000 allowance has been sufficient. I'm given to understand that up until Farny came the boys used up pretty much all of it. Farny's requirements were more modest, and it was only in the last few months he was here that he began to use up pretty much his full allowance. Now along come I plus wife and find that $1000 a month is not going to be enough - that it will probably run more like $1500 a month. Nor is it possible to calculate how much of that additional expenditure is due to Ann's being here.

Let me illustrate. All my predecessors lived in the room that was also the office in the Mteropole Hotel. (Except for the month or two when Farny had an apartment.) This is manifestly impossible for a man and wife to do, so another room in the Metropole was necessary. It would have become necessary anyway for other reasons - but the upshot is an additional monthly expenditure of 1500 rubels, or more than a hundred dollars. Another additional expdenditure is the salary raise I gave the secretary. I was forced to do this, despite the fact that you have not yet authorized it, though I am sure you will. The story on that one is this: Lily is an excellent secretary and translator - one of the best in the Metropole. She is by no means a slavey, but a woman of great independence of mind. She isn't working for the money particularly, because her husband, being a member of the Academy of Science, is one of the highly privileged class in the USSR. They have plenty of money, better rations than we get (despite the fact that ours are called Ambassador's rations) an automobile and an apartment. There are few people in this country - and I say that advisedly, who are as well off. Anyway, Lily is extremely conscious of her prestige and enjoys it. For a while she was paid as much as the best secretaries here got and she was content. Then, a year or so ago, other secretaries' salaries began to go up - until the NYTimes secretary, for instance, was getting 3000 rubles a month. This made Lily unhappy and she pestered Farny for a raise. Farny put her off successfully, telling her to wait for my arrival. When I came the matter was raised once more and we sent you the first cable asking a raise to 2500 rubles. Farny went, and some time passed without an answer, and Lily got restive. Lily is a determined little woman. She's good and she is fully aware of it. She knows she has me where the hair is short. There are no other secretaries to be had. To get another one would mean applying to the Foreign Office, waiting until they had the NKVD screen someone for reliability, and then starting to work in this baffling country with a completely green person.

I could not possibly get on alone. A secretary here is more than that. Until one learns the language she is a Seeing Eye dog. Lily hinted she'd quit. She was becoming unpleasant enough so that I was faced with the clear choice, to tell her to go or to give her the raise. I did the latter. There was, in reality, no other choice. So, in my next expense account you'll find Lily's salary chalked up to 2500 rubles a month. This is, by the way, not for a month, but for four weeks.—— That is additional expenditure.

To continue, I'm taking more Russian lessons than my predecessors did (among other things to avoid future repetitions of the above), and that puts several hundred rubles more on the monthly bill.

Expenditure directly on Ann's account is her food. We eat lunch at the hotel (in the dining room, that is) and that much is easy to calculate. But then, breakfast and dinner Ann cooks in our room. We buy the food for that at our official grocery store, and on the open market. We entertain in our room, and Annie cooks the meals for that. Tomorrow for instance we're having the British Ambassador and the American Charge d'Affaires to dinner. It's the sort of thing you've got to do. If I were alone in Moscow I would have to do it at a "commercial" (black market) restaurant. I couldn't bring them to the hotel dining room where prices are more reasonable, because I am given only enough meal tickets to have my own meals at our hotel prices. In a "commercial restaurant" such a dinner would cost about 1500 Rubles. With Ann cooking at home it costs only a fraction of ithis. So, where a wife is added expenditure on the one hand, she helps save money on the other.

Let me digress for a moment on this business of entertaining. Two elements mainly enter into this. One is personal temperament, the other is professional necessity. We're not socialites by nature, and anyway there's far too much reading to be done here to go tearing around in the social marathon that goes on here. Official functions one must go to. Embassy functions one should go to. They're professionally necessary. Private invitations come from odd foreign embassyites, and you must accept some of them. Why? Because apart from the newspapers and what you can see on the streets, foreigners are your only source of information. That may sound like an extreme statement, but I'll go into that later. When you're a bachelor you can be more free about accepting hospitality and not repaying it than you can when you're settled with your wife. And over and above these considerations comes the fact that we enjoy having people around moderately frequently.

Computing what our financial arrangements should be is complicated by a few other things - one of which is the fact that we have to maintain our child in America because there is no way for her to live here. Another is the added private expenditure involved in getting clothes and extra food from London and Stockholm (food and clothes from Stockholm, drink from London). Ann is going to have to make a trip to Stockholm in September to get various things, mainly foods that you can't get here. And since there are no clothes to be bought here she's also going to have to buy some winter things. That is private expenditure which would not be necessary elsewhere. The greatest factor, though, is that money here has no meaning. A hundred rubles is nominally (and that's even at the favored diplomatic rate of 12 to the dollar) $8.50. But you find that you either can't buy what you want, or it takes those hundred rubles to buy what would cost you two or two and a half dollars in New York. That's the

you will have [illegible] the expense account from [illegible] and the RR

average. I could give you a number of examples of commercial prices that would make your hair stand on end. — The recent price reductions, by the way, were for clothing and hardware etc and not for food. Since we don't buy anything but food they don't help us out at all. — Take a few average instances only. We have an egg ration which we are authorized to collect at our controlled-price official grocery store. The price there is 10 rubles for six eggs. But that store hasn't had any eggs since we got here, so we've had to buy our eggs on the open market (where collective farmers are allowed to sell their surplus goods for what the traffic will bear) or in the government commercial store. The price is 5 rubles per egg and up. The other night after taking a walk around the Kremlin, Ann and I stopped in at the cafe (in the European sense) in the hotel. Ann had a cup of icedcoffee, I had a bottle of beer and I bought a pack of Russian cigarettes. The bill was 56 rubles, and the tip was another nine rubles (accounted meager) bringing the total to 65 rubles, or more than $5.00. A bottle of beer in the controlled price hotel dining room costs a dollar. We practically never have beer. An ordinary lunch (and a cheesy one at that - I would class it with lowprice American cafeteria lunch) costs from $2.50 to five dollars, depending on whether you order it all. —— In addition to the normal purchase-expenditure there is a vast amount of special baksheesh to be dispensed. This is probably a country more riddled with large and small graft bribery and corruption than any I have ever been in. Even the government is alarmed about it and is undertaking a special campaign to get rid of it. —— I soiled a pair of gabardine pants on the trip we took to Dneprostroi. To get them cleaned I would have to go through the following procedure: I would have to write a letter to BUROBIN, which is the governmen t organization for dealing with foreigners. They would come and collect the pants and put them for me into the normal commercial cleaning channels. After several weeks I would start writing letters to inquire what's happened to the pants. There's no point in telephoning because anything not in writing is either disregarded or forgotten, but in any case lost. After a month or six weeks I could expect to get my pants back in better or worse condition, and the thing would cost me 30Rubels, which is the controlled price. —— But Lily has connections. She knows a cleaning establishment where the woman charges 60 rubels and keeps either the difference or the whole sum, and gets the pants back in three days. —— Outside the hotel you have to tip everyone in sight, and inside the hotel every second person. To get an electric light bulb when one burns out you have to pay the person who can get it for you. —— The funniest one was when our baggage came, a week or so after we got here. We had to pay a customs fee for unpacking and repacking it for the customs examination. When we got the stuff to the hotel four men put the xxx crates into an elevator, brought them up to the third floor and into the office. They arrived in the office panting very phonily and wiping nonexistent x sweat from their brows. Lily asked them how much they wanted, they said 200 rubles. Lily almost fell over. "What for", she shrieked. "Well," said one of the muzhiks, stroking his beard, "I've got a wife and six children." "To hell with that", said Lily, "we're paying you for your work not for the size of your family".

It's a devious and many-threaded country.

But to get back to the increased monthly expenditure, there are likely to be more trips now, which there weren't before. And they cost money. In Stalingrad, which is still in ruins, we stayed in a place that served as a hotel. We stayed there three nights and two days. When we left each one of us was presented xxxx with a bill for 1110 rubles. Each of us was calculated to have drunk more than $10 worth of beer in that time.

Money here certainly has no meaning until you realize that/12 rubles are

actually bought and paid for with one dollar. And we might just as well make some precise arrangement for expenses here in Moscow.

I think the other offices - I know about the NYTimes and Time & Life - keep their correspondents and their wives here on full expenses. I think the same is true for Reuters. Their average monthly expenditure, I gather vaguely, runs between $2000 and $2500.

I think it would be fair to run our establishment here on a monthly maximum of $1500.

So much for finance.

This place is not only expensive, but unpleasant. Not only has money no meaning, but neither have words. Normally, if I were writing or broadcasting from any spot on earth I would be expected to convey however vague a picture of what life is like. That is difficult to do here (quite apart from censorship) except at some length. Because words have to be redefined. —

You have, I am sure, heard Moscow described as "magnificent" (if you haven't you will as soon as Corwin gets back), or as a "great" city. How will you react then when I tell you that Moscow, with odd exceptions is a gigantic slum? You have seen pictures of the great wide Gorky street that runs westward off the Red Square. How can I describe the wooden shanties, the coldwater one-toilet prerevolutionary tenements that cluster behind those big buildings? Off all the main streets and even on some of them Moscow is a vista of scabrous, peeling walls - of rickety wooden steps leading through dingy unlighted shafts up two or three precarious stories of an old house that seems precariously overloaded with humanity. A family in a room is the rule - and it's the rule not only in these miserable little accommodations, but in the Metropole Hotel. It's the rule not only in the dingy tenements and shacks which make up I should guess 85% of Moscow dwelling houses, but also in the odd more modern apartment houses. So is dinginess the rule there.

One of the American girls at the embassy shares a three room apartment with another girl and their cook. The front entrance looks like the back door to a brewery - chipped concrete, open brickwork and cracks in both. Up an unlit bare concrete iron-railed staircase to a bare cement landing from which doors lead off to the apartments. Broken windows have paper or boards over them, nothing has been painted since it was built. Looking out from the balcony (which the apartment has, being a privileged foreign apartment in a new block) down on the frontgarden you see in rainy weather a gigantic mud puddle, and in dry weather dried mud. The cement walks cracked and everything filthy - paper, debris, food remnants scattered around. This apartment would be described, and quite properly in comparison with the rest of Moscow as a block of luxury flats. What meaning has the word luxury? The same with the Moscow Hotel, which is customarily described as "swank" or "luxurious". It's been built since the revolution. Architecturally it's hideous inside and out - outside it reflects the dominant idea in Russian architecture that the more columns you plaster on the side of a building the more beautiful it looks. Inside it's a dingy imitation of a big hotel - but the fixtures don't all work, and the colors are either garish or drab. Where there's been a new coat of paint put on you

can still see where the coat below it had peeled off in scabs. How can I describe the street scene. One speaks of Moscow as being crowded with traffic — which means that the main roads are as crowded as Fifth Avenue was during the gas rationing. And on the few occasions when I've had reason to mention that most of the automobiles you see on the road are German, and most of the trucks American, the censor cuts it out.

The word "culture" is frequently applied to various phases of Russian life, usually and vehemently by the Russians themselves. But don't get the idea that everyone walks around reading Pushkin or Turgeniev, or that the theater is blossoming, or that even the way things are put on in the theater would come up to our standards. Atkinson did a job on the Russian theater. I myself have seen some opera. And I've seen enough good opera in my life all over Europe to recognize this as distinctly second rate - both in scenery, staging and singing. Only the ballet is superb, and in the ballet only the dancing. The Russian word "culture" has a different meaning from ours. Anything can be kulturny - and the general meaning seems to be more - agreeable.

The people of Moscow reflect the air of this city - their tired faces, their completely dilapidated clothing sometimes strike me as if I were walking down the Bowery. They're not very clean, they have no manners at all. I've seen people ganging up at ticket windows almost get their clothes torn off. There is no regard, in everyday behavior, for women or children.

To add to the drabness of the picture are the queues. Queues for everything - for newspapers, for ice cream, for bread, for vegetables, to get into the movies, to get on a bus. Everything is done by some pathetically slovenly mob. And then there are the beggars - old women, hardly more than heaps of filthy rag, huddled at the entrance of a building, or just at the edge of the sidewalk with castdown head, face hidden by a burlap shawl, mutely outstretched gnarled old hand. Or they may be fullgrown men with no legs, or little children with one leg or arm or just looking downright starved. You see them wherever you go — they come to the highly touted "Park of Culture and Rest" (where the culture is a Young Communist leading the crowd in a political song, or plaster cast statues of bigbosomed females holding oars, and the rest is a free vaudeville show and some swings at commercial prices - the whole like some tenth rate county amusement park), or on the big streets leading off the Red Square. They cluster outside churchdoors in heartrending little clusters.

The only "normal" looking people, in our western sense, are the privileged classes in this classless society. They are the Generals and Colonels, the Scientists, the Actors who have their special food and clothing shops into which no one else - including us - may go. There is no standing on line for them. They can call their private motor ppol for a car, or maintain a private one. They can get summer houses and go out. And above all - and invisible - are the big party boys. They live in the Kremlin, and no one gets into the Kremlin unless he is invited in. No one sees them go to their private theater, their apartments. No one sees them as their heavily curtained automobiles whisk them out of the Kremlin out of Moscow down country roads where a policeman stands every thousand yards to their highwalled country establishments. They're prepared to let other people get the public attention, to have public annoyance about food and clothing and housing shortage find expression in anecdotes about the nouveau riche generals, or in muttered cursewords flung at actresses and prosperous looking automobiles, or in rumors about how the Jews are getting it all.

that/12 rubles are

None of this can one describe - an essay or a book could do it - or a very long broadcast. But that's academic, because the censor would not pass a word. For the censor nothing exists except what has appeared in the newspapers.

Obfuscation is a fine art here, and carried through with a thoroughness that only indicates the uncertainty and fear in the mind of the men who are its instruments. The first stage is to isolate the correspondent. Believe me when I tell you that you cannot have Russian friends or Russian acquaintances here in the sense that one can have friends or acquaintances in any other country in the world. This is the case not only for people who do not know the language. Nor is language the main barrier even there. I had known a couple of Russian diplomats in Berlin with whom I was on good terms. One of them even sent me some food ration tickets when I was in the clink. I called them both up when I came here, they both expressed their pleasure at learning I was here, both promised to get in touch with me for dinner "soon" and neither of them have. This is the usual experience.

Normally the Russians you meet are a handpicked crowd. Embassies giving parties do not invite the Russians they want invited - they send a letter of people they want to invite to the Foreign Office. The Foreign Office amends this list as it sees fit - takes some names off, puts others on in accordance with some principle that we can only guess at. Often the Ambassador standing on the receiving line will not even know the names of a good percentage of his guests. Some of the foreigners who speak Russian have private friends - that is, unofficial friends - of whom the police are well aware. Everything they do with these Russians is done with the realization that nothing must happen which could possibly compromise these Russians politically. And the acquaintanceship labors on under a cloud. One girl I know was told not long ago by one of her friends that he thought he'd better not see her for a while. She asked why. He said that the tone of newspaper articles in recent weeks had become so anti-american that he might get into difficulty if he maintained American contacts. Why are people afraid of associating socially or unofficially with foreigners? I've never heard anyone say there was any law or ruling against it, except in individual cases. The reason is more illuminating and sinister. The Russians who might like to have foreign friends - and they are a normally cheerful, inquisitive, healthy people who would enjoy contact with foreigners - are afraid to. Once before in the purge of 1937 1938 people who had had even only superficial acquaintanceships with foreigners were hauled off and sent to prison or to Siberia. One never knows here when such a situation may develop again. One never knows if and when one may not be asked to explain a drink or a dinner or a conversation - and the consequences of not giving a completely convincing or safe answer are such that they counterbalance whatever pleasure and social satisfaction are involved.

You can complete in your mind this sketchy picture of our isolation — there are no bull sessions, no sitting down and asking a man what he really thinks about anything or how his mind works. Not, that is, unless he is on the payroll of the propaganda department of the central

have in it

committe of the communist party,

If this applies to private friendships you can imagine that it applies doubly to professional contacts. If I want to go to a Russian to get a story, or to get some information I can't just call him up and explain I'm a CBS correspondent and may I come around to have a talk with him. Not at all. I've got to write a letter to the Press Department of the Foreign Office requesting them to put me in touch with the proper individuals. — And don't think for a minute that the foreign office does this. For more than a month now I have had x requests lying in the Foreign Office to put me in touch with sources of information on: Birobidjan (the Jewish Republic in East Asia which would be a good story in view of the Palestine business); Pravda - as the authoritative newspaper which is the government mouthpiece, but is never permitted us to describe as such; Medical research; the Stalin Auto works in Moscow; the school system, and par icularly the Suvorov Academies which are breeeding a new generation of Russian militarists from the age of six. I've asked to visit the Mayor of Moscow to get an angle on the postwar problems that face his city, I've asked to see the man who runs the Foeign Language Publishing House to get an idea on what sort of books they're printing. I've asked to speak to German prisoners of war to find out what they're being taught, and what their role will be in Germany's future. I've asked for a lot of things and gotten nothing. I've sent a list of questions to Stalin - the silence has been deafening. — In addition I've asked for trips to the Urals, to the Kuznetsk basin (xx which is the Ruhr of Asia), to the oilfields, to the Baltic states. No reply.

I'll go on asking as long as I remain here. But the percentage of satisfaction will be small indeed.

But the isolation from the sources of information is only half of an efficient iron curtain (Christ, how apt that phrase is) The other half is to screen what information you do get from foreigners, by piecing together the evidence of your eyes, and from the papers. The censorship is as weird as it is inexorable. I have never seen the men who censor my stuff, I have never spoken to them. My scripts and cables -and everyone else's - are deposited at a desk in the Telegraph Building on Gorky Street and are picked up there. — I could dilate on the nature of the censorship. It is complicated - but a few principles emerge. One is that no word go out that will not in some way support the policy of the Soviet Union. Another is that no analyses of soviet policy which do not support that policy be allowed to leak out.

I have tried on occasion to give even hints that the policy of the USSR was pure power politics operating under an intense smoke screen of idealism. They have been squelched. I have tried to indicate the relationship between internal strength and foreign policy; of the tactics xxxxxxx employed in the Italian question, for instance, which is purest power politics. Well, you know well how successful I've been. The pap I've been able to get out so far makes me ashamed.

This is all the more aggravating because of the extreme importance of this present period in the domestic development of Soviet Russia. Immediately after VE day the coalition that had won the war began to break up. Potsdam was already a compromise patchwork, but even while Potsdam was being held the practical actions of the powers in the occupation of Germany was leading them farther apart. After VJ day came the disastrous Foreign Ministers meeting in London. Right at that time everyone was looking to Russia for the answer to the inability get together. Officially the answer was the usual - suspicion of "reactionary elements; suspicion of "revivals of fascist trends" in the world outside. Russia was playing a very rewarding tune and she knew it.

The idea was to keep the rest of the world beating its breast, trying to "atone" and "compensate" and ameliorate. But actually the answer was still pretty much a riddle. Was Russia really out to expand, or was she genuinely anxious to preserve only her own security.

Since I've got here I've done a lot of reading - not only the day to day propaganda stuff that floods the press etc., but the Marxist classics - Marx, Plekhanov, Lenin, Stalin. They all go together to support one hypothesis. The leaders of the Soviet Union seem, from all indications one can get, to be working on the assumption that the chasm between their way of life and the rest of the capitalist world is unbridgeable. As long as capitalist states exist in on the same planet with the Soviet Union the USSR will consider herself surrounded and menaced. The only security it is possible to achieve, is the elimination of non-communist states. — This is said here in so many words. — And the ideologists are much more specific. How are the non-communist states which, by their very nature and existence threaten the Soviet Union, going to be removed. Stalin himself has provided the answer in his Short History of the Communist Party. They cannot be removed by evolution - the only way to get rid of them is by proletarian revolutions inside those countries, which will lead to the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat. And mind you, this is not personal opinion, this is not a collection of chance phrases. This is all sacred, oft-repeated doctrine. It is in the schoolbooks, it is in the mouths of tens of thousands of party agitators at factory and trade union and party meeetings every day. (Moscow alone has 7,000 full time agitators).

Not can you say that the Marxist classics are old - Lenin's works, especially his Imperialism as the Hihest Stage of Capitalism - because, though they were written as far back as fifty years ago, they are being reprinted. All the books I have were reprinted in 1945 and 1946.

The conclusions as far as foreign policy are obvious. No capitalist country can make any concessions, make any gestures, renounce any privileges or territory which will make it any less threat in the eyes of the Soviet Union.

Not only is this line and its numerous corollaries in print here, but the entire domestic policy of the USSR has been geared to support this neo-leninism. The Five Year Plan which will build up an even more powerful heavy industry and armament industry while scores of millions of Russians continue to go without primitive necessities of civilized housing and clothing and feeding; the constant admonitions to revitalize party work underscore the importance of this ideology, its dominant role in present day Russia. Not an edition of any newspaper passes in which there is not an editorial or an article or a report which urges the party to become more active, to assume the leadership of the people even more vigorously (now that the war is won and the generals are no longer heeded). Party authority has been increased in the Armed Forces, party committees and personnel are being overhauled in what one has every reason to believe is a largescale combout. Everywhere and in everything - in the theater, in the movies, in the press emphasis is on communist orthodoxy as interpreted by Stalin. If a movie or a magazine or a play or a newspaper edition does not have in it

some element which will plug the party line, increase party discipline, mobilize support for the party program, it is no good. Foreign plays have, except for Shaw and Hellman and Shakespeare, just about disappeared from the Moscow stage. "Historical" pictures which, "do not reflect the needs of the present day" are junked. Eisenstein's second part of Ivan the Terrible has been suppressed because it is too "historical" (and also "inartistic, fallacious" and all the other adjectives that these people pile on when they don't approve of something). The press is reminded day after day that its job is to mobilize the masses — to hell with information, don't worry about truth.

The main and single purpose is to support the Party Program and that Party Program is to build up Soviet strength with the ultimate immutable goal in view of spreading the Soviet system all over the world.

There is much that is good in this country, much that has been done, much that we can learn (to avoid as well as to emulate). But there is nothing that I have seen here, or that intelligent foreigners with whom I have spoken have seen here, or what I have read here that will match the enormous disadvantage of the maintenance of a police state.

The bureaucracy here is enormous, the machinery of "security" even more. There are two ministries of the government which have as their function the safety of the state. The socalled internal troops are an army by themselves, with their own air force, tanks, artillery etc. Together with the regular army and police it is estimated that some six million men are mobilized to preserve the internal and external security of the soviet state. Preserve it from what? Frankly I don't know, nor does anyone I've spoken to. The only explanation I can find is that this is one of the attributes of a fascist, police state — the way the attributes of a human being are a soul and two arms and legs.

The parallel in the technique between this country and ermany is terrifying. In their internal propaganda, and in their security technique - in the state of mind of the people I can sometimes well imagine myself in ermany.

I could go on in this vein for another ten pages. I know I must sound terribly bitter, and I know that I have made no mention of any counterarguments. A soviet apologist would say - it's all for the good of the people, it's being done for them. He would repeat and keep repeating that the USSR wanted only peace and security.

I have given you only broadly daubed sketches of the conditions under which we work, the hostile society, the isolation, the being surrounded by an alien and inimical ideology. I just want to go back to censorship once more, though, to point up why none of the above will ever get out until we who are here take it out in our heads.

In the general shakeup going on in this country now - marking resumption by the party of all reigns and instruments of power, and by the raising of the level of ideological fanaticism - a number of people have recently become involved. Zhukov went because he could not stomach the vastly increased jurisdiction of the political department. He was put out to grass in Odessa. Others have gone for whose departure we have only still more vague rumor. Air Marshal Novikov, Air Marshal Khudiakov, Minister of Airfcarft Production Shukharin, Minister of State Security Merkulov, Colonel General Gromov (who was one of the people who flew to America some years back on that first or second flight). There have been, we know, wholesale expulsions from the party. I have sent you telegrams on each of the above as I heard about him. As a matter of fact I was the first to hear about Zhukov - and that cable is still sitting in the telegraph. I understand that the United Press got the Zhukov story from Moscow. If so it only shows how weird this bloody censorship is.

[illegible] knew it.

[illegible]

I've got to run and get this opus into the pouch. I assure you it's a great relief to sit down and be able to say this.

Please, if you want to see me again in the next twenty years, don't let a word of the contents get into print.

John Strohm should be back in America in a month or two. He is an extremely intelligent fellow who has seen an enormous amount in the short time he's been here. He's bringing back a bottle of Vodka for you and Edi and the boys.

I hope we'll get the damn transmission time straightened out and that I'll be able to do some broadcasting. I feel pretty useless. The great compensation, though, is that there is probably no better place on earth than this to get your thinking straight, and your mind clear of political cobwebs. The danger, of course, is to oversimplify, but it's less if you bear it in mind.

Ann sends you her best regards. Give our love to everyone - a big wet kiss to Hildy, and the hope that her daughter will grow up to be another Hildy.

Our best to the Murrows who should be back by now, refreshed and eager.

some element which will plug the party line, increase party discipline, mobilize support for the party program, it is no good. Foreign plays have, except for Shaw and Hellman and Shakespeare, just about disappeared from the Moscow stage. "Historical" pictures which, [illegible] Eisenstein's

Thursday May 24, 1 pm

Dear Dick and Ann,

It seems to be a tradition that no CBS man should wait for his successor in Moscow; continuity is provided only by Lily and Room 348. There is much to be said for the former, and of the latter, the less said the better.

I hope that before this letter is finished your own room reservation will be definite. MID has instructed Intourist to provide quarters for you in the hotel; late last night Demeshenko's office knew nothing of such instructions, and this morning Simonov has promised to reinstruct Demeshenko to instruct the Service Bureau to instruct the Administrator to provide the room. I've got my fingers crossed and the chewing gum is her in the drawer.

Our policy is to stake out a residential claim for you in the hotel, to get you duly registered, and then for you to use the little apartment which is really very nice but not very permanent - Robert Magidoff will be back in July or August or September. His secretary, Cecelia Nelson, has offered to take you out there to meet the cook-general, Lena. She (Lena) is a rather feudal character in her loyalty to the Magidoffs and it will take Cecelia to prove that you really are entitled to use the place. It would be a good chance, too, to inquire into the mysteries of the hot water system which I have not investigated, and to see if the small bedroom where Lena sleeps and where the Magidoffs personal things are stored might be of some use to you. When the Magidoffs were here, she slept on the couch in the kitchen. I have been using the big couch in the study. Maybe you'll need more space, as I suggested to Magidoff. The cooking and neatness of the place will speak for itself. She hasn't service for more than four people at a meal at present.

The broadcast situation is still a deadlock. It was the change to daylight saving time that threw me off the morning roundup. I have explained to Shapiro, the efficient head of the Anglo-American section, that CBS is not being arbitrary in requiring 12.00 - 12.15 GMT: this program is geared to the working hours of the eastern United States, not to the whims of any New York executive. We have to catch people before they go to work in the morning. Without Lily to run interference (I'm almost helpless without her, my hopes to the contrary notwithstanding), I haven't reached Puzin, the Chairman of the Radio Committee, for an interview.

You'll see all the assorted office files. For catching up with the political atmosphere, I recommend browsing through the back numbers of New Times.

I asked New York to send the next batch of money in your name. We receive it through the finance office of the embassy - one flight up, in the consular section, Al Taber presiding. It's simplest to call him up to ask if it's in yet.

Craig Thompson and Meyer Handler are both staying in town, so they'll see that you meet the inmates of the hotel, and I'm sure that one or the other would be glad to introduce you to the various people at the embassy - both are good friends who will help out in any pinch, financial or otherwise.

Lily will take you to the press office, radio etc.

She is the perfect chief of staff and if she can't organize anything, it means that nobody can.

Elizabeth Eagan runs the OWI office at the embassy and has the flat over our "dacha".

Saturday night there is a party at the British press club bar. It should be a pleasant affair, and I'm sorry I can't be on hand to introduce you. But if you feel bold and venture forth, you'll find yourselves among friends immediately. Your tickets are on the desk. Some of the people at our collective luncheon table are sure to be going.

My trip should last ten days. If it turns out to be longer, I may leave the party and come back. The only way of filing is by telephone, and usually people prefer to get back and then do a series. There should be a couple of festories in it at least. But if other people are phoning and if New York is interested I'll try to get something started from Kiev or Minsk.

I hope this welcome doesn't seem too chilly. I'm eager to get back and hear how things are going.

All the best,

Taino

April I5; I945

Dear Fowle:

It seems the custom to pass on bad advice to newsomers, so in the possibility we will not meet... here is my contribution. And for bad advice there is no better source. So I will also leave you Fleming's letter to me.

My heritage to you includes fairly good but realistic relations with the censors, very friendly and helpful people at the radio committee... from the boss Shapiro on down. When you broadcast at 3 p.m. your copy should leave here for the censor not later than I2.30. Press copy takes longer.

I've had a day-to-day arrangement filing to the Daily Mail in London whenever there is a story. Just now this runs about 3-400 words perhaps three times a week. This was arranged through CBS, New York and approved by the Nark "for the duration of the offensive". It pays US $ 50 per story, which is high but fair since the Daily Mail is unwelcomed here. I am wiring the Mail to ask you if you wish to carry on. If you do, I suggest it will be wise to keep the two connections distinctly separate... so as not to jeopardize Columbia. Make that clear to the Nark when you deal. Iris Morely...Alaric Jacob's wife... was hired by the Mail to do a bi-weekly feature piece and hasn't been able to get her stuff out. I think she's under the impression that I have been stymied, too, and I didn't elucidate for reasons which will become obvious to you.

About Lily; she is the most efficient, clever and lazy secretary in Moscow. And good secretaries are like fine gold here...

After reading over Jim Flemings' letter, I think most of his observations...save for the trips...still hold good. But I perceive in spite of his experience here that he had a a more friendly attitude than I have been able to cultivate.But that is something more anyone will beglad to explain to you at length.. in much more unbiased fashion than I could do. Just remember, when things seem darkest and you don't get a line of truth passed, that Moscow is still one of the most important and interesting assignements in the world. You cannot get the picture in focus until you have endured this experience... and I use the phrase advisedly... and you will have a long jump on other people who are trying to see and explain what the future means. (this certainly sounds pontifical... and perhaps that's one of the effects this place has).

April 15, 1945

Dear Towle:

It seems the custom to pass on bad advice to newcomers.
leave you Fleming's letter to me.

I've had a day-to-day arrangement filing to the Daily
t later than 12.30. Press copy takes longer.

ut to [illegible] Make that clear to the Mark when you
ntact, like Bly... Gloria Swan's also... You ARMA by the
ritt one. I think Nola wants the [illegible]
ointed, too, and I didn't elucidate for reasons which will
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secretary in Reno. [illegible]

After reading over Jim Fleming's letter, I think
ust a new observation...save for the trips...still hold good.
But I perhaps in spite of his experience here that he had a
a more friendly attitude than I have been able to exhibit. But
that is something else entirely and I shall be delighted to pay
or lunch. In both more unbiased fashion than I could do. Just
remember, Towle [illegible] and you don't get a line of truth
reading, that Reno is still one of the most important and
interesting developments in the world. You cannot get the picture
in three visits you have had experience... and I was
the press relations... but you will have a long jump on other
people who are trying to see and explain what the future means.
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]... and perhaps that's one of the
[illegible] were plans [illegible].

Now to wind it up here. Lily gets from the CBS 2000 rubles per month and we generally pay the courier 500. Expenses run from 10 to 12 thousand or higher depending on trips. There should be some money left over and I will make you a note of what that is, which you might confirm by cable to New York to settle up my account. For last year's (1944) vacation Lily is owed US $ 200 to be applied against anything you bring for her.

For general education I commend you to Craig Thompson, Cy Sulzburger whom you undoubtedly know, Alec Werth and Marjorie Shaw... and to Mania Sofiana, who is the adviser, mother confessor and angel to every lonely correspondent who wanders in. I do wish you the best luck and pleasant relations here... and there's a chance things may improve, for since Roosevelt's death there seems to be some hint of sobriety and concern for Allied relations.

Finally for straight information I might mention Adam Watson at the British Embassy and George Kennan; minister at the American embassy. Kennan is a fine sincere type, who knows Russia better and feels things more deeply than perhaps any other diplomat in Russia. If you feel it convenient to pass this compliment along please do so; I'm a little awakward about that sort of thing. I didn't mean to pass by Meyer Handler in the paragraph above. Among American correspondents he undoubtedly is the best informed... and he has been very helpful.

With very best wishes for a pleasant and profitable assignment...

NB...final instructions on dough... Lily and the courier are ~~each~~ due two weeks salary on the 21st and I have left 2000 with Lily, out of which must also come my food bill for about 10 days, 200 rubles for the typewriter, 200 for the German communique (which we aren't getting any more, and probably somthing on the mission food supply... which I haven't collected yet this month. See Eddie Gilmore on this. There is US $ 1930 balance at the American embassy and I have wired CBS New York to transfer authorization to your name. Sorry we didn't meet...I have the feeling it was a matter only of hours... and again best of luck.

george.

...ment anything you bring for her.

...

...

...

July 27...

Dear George:

I hope we may have an opportunity to meet in Cairo or Teheran, but if our paths don't happen to cross this will have to be my last testament from Moscow. I wish we might have had a chance to work together here, but that apparently wasn't in the cards. In passing I think, if CBS approves, an effort should still be made to get in a second man, but that can wait for the present...

I won't bother you with the details of my departure...the boys can fill you in on that. I do want to point out that my relations with the Press Department (which were fairly good up to the incident) will in no way affect you. That's the way these people are. They never forgive, but they hold their grudge against me, and not against CBS or any other member of the company. So in that respect you start with a perfectly clean slate. Too, I would not engage in any discussion reFleming with any official here. Let the matter remain forgotten, and buried.

Lily (our Secretary whom I pass on with strongest approval) and myself are at this moment engaged in a struggle to keep the office intact until your arrival. We may lose this battle with Intourist, and if we do, all the CBS stuff will be left in Bill Lawrence's room. You will find a good file of Generals etc. which was begun by Bill Downs, all files of newspapers, and a month's notes. I had hoped to leave you my broadcasts, but under the circumstances of my leaving here, I have to have the damn things if only for future self defense. But, there's little that you could learn from them. The story here is so cleancut now, so much a straight military matter that the broadcasts almost write themselves.

At night, of course, I always wrote a straight military piece based on the evening communique. On the afternoon shows I usually stuck to the Red Army, doping things a bit and trying to plot a little strategy, and filling in with such color as is available in the papers. At night the minute and a half you usually get is so brief a time there is very little else to do except outline the sheer military facts. I tried to use a lot of fresh color on the daytime shows to freshen up the story. On the longer Sunday broadcasts you can usually spin a feature.

About trips: there will be lots of them, and they will all be important. I doubt that you will find any radio communications until you get to Berlin, but try to talk to the Press Department (working with Magidoff of NBC) to see if something can't be done about broadcasts from say Warsaw, or other centers that do possess transmitters. They probably will never give you sensible advance information, but then again it's worth pressing on them the importance of broadcasts from these big points. On these trips you can usually find enough material for a dramatizer for one of Paul's special shows, and those items are much appreciated as well as worth two hundred bucks if used. I suggest that you try to get back from these junkets as quickly as possible..(On a couple of occassions I got minor scoops by hustling back before the others...but this may not be possible due to the distances one now has to travel.)

NBC has had a tie-up with Cassidy of AP, and may carry on the arrangement with DeLuce. I'm going to suggest very strongly to Paul that he allow you to have a co-worker with someone from UP, or perhaps one of the other boys The Press Department permits such arrangements, and we ought to do it.

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As to expenses. Both Downs and myself have spent about 10,000 to 12,000 rubles per month, and we'd mutually appreciate your spending up to the established level. Lily is the expert on the expense accounts and can fill you in. Money comes through the American Embassy, and when you need dough just send a request to CBS. Dough gets here in about two weeks.

Lily is undoubtedly one of the best Secretaries here. You'll find her an avid guard of your interests, and hep to all the needs of a correspondent in Moscow. Her salary is 2000 rubles per month, and I usually give her what foodstuffs I can spare.

A monthly ration from the Embassy makes life somewhat more bearable ...I have been taking one meal a day at the Metropole, and cooking the other two myself. However you may want to get all three from the hotel until you can size things up. I had the good luck to get a lot of food from one of the departing military men last winter, but unhappily that store has been consumed. Eddy Gilmore is looking into ways and means of getting food in for correspondents, and be sure to order anything any chance you get.

Lily will tell you about the radio people. They're really the best you have to deal with, and quite helpful by contrast with most officialdom. (About a month ago I used a recording of a Moscow salute on a Sunday show. CBS liked it and asked for a repeat at an opportune time. You might use it again sometime soon. Be sure to put in your request about a week ahead.)

I've been working for NEwsweek here. It doesn't pay much but they give you a good byline and play. I'vesuggested to Harriman who owns the magazine that you'd be a likely successor, and I'll put in a plug at their NY office. Suggest you talk to Kathy Harriman on this.

For a good fill in as you begin I suggest a long talk with Paul Winterton of News Chronicle and BBC who for my money is the best of the crew here. Especially on the military [redacted] Paul can give you a good picture. On political topics you can't do better than Meyer Handler of UP (especially on the Poles about whom you'll be talking, and I don't envy you!).

This is not an easy place to work. It takes a lot of patience, and there will be many times that you'll cuss the day you left the land of reasonable people. But it's a great story, and a great education, and worth many of the annoyances. You'll find many mountain feuds even among the correspondents. The only suggestion I have is to stay out of them. They're usually pretty silly.

I don't want to close by sounding pontifical, but, if you'll let me, I'll just suggest that the really important thing is to keep one's objectivity here, and not to let those pounding propoganda drums (which pound at you jst as much as at the average Russian) distort that objectivity--an unnecessary caution, I'm sure, for anyone who labors in the White-Murrow vineyard.

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I really envy your days ahead here. You're coming at a terrific time, and I know you'll be doing a terrific job. The very best of luck, and If you do tear up any cables be sure to throw them in a direction opposite from the censor.

Mail service through APO (you send your letters through the Embassy to the base censor at Camp Amirabad, Teheran, who relays them) is very good. I hope, when you have some spare moments you'll send along a line or two. My address is [redacted] 965 Fifth Avenue, New York...I don't know what my future plans will be, but I'll be in the states for a few months--or else..

Welcome to Moscow--and I'll be rooting for you,

Ian Fleming

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Tom Fleming

Prewar radio — Munich Crisis — beginning

Wartime radio

coming of age
parity with printed word
immediacy
overcoming technical difficulties
portable transmitters 399's
recorders

Postwar —

vast responsibility at times but dramatic
immediacy of war is lacking
Censorship — more difficult for radio man
double in Moscow because infection
Belgium during Leopold
Osubka-Morawski — Poland

Censorship of sources —

no freedom of movement (even to extent of US Army + Canada)
facilities are mainly state owned
no access to sources

Red Letter
Expulsion — why + how we were cut off

Problem — need for definition of position of all correspondents in totalitarian countries —

objectivity vs balance
survival school of thought
competition with govt. prop. agencies
pressure in thousand ways by govts.

HENRY W. GRADY SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM
THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
ATHENS

Mr. Richard C. Hottelet
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York City

HENRY W. GRADY SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM
THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
ATHENS

April 29, 1947

Mr. Richard C. Hottelet
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York City

Dear Mr. Hottelet:

We of the University are delighted that you are to be one of the speakers at Georgia's second annual Radio Institute, May 18-20.

Mr. William Burson, the director of our News Bureau, has asked me to request either an advance copy of your speech or a summary of some of the points that you expect to develop. This will greatly aid in an adequate coverage of your contribution to the occasion.

This material may be sent directly to Mr. Burson or to this office.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

John E. Drewry
Dean

JED:vfw

Prewar -
wartime -
Postwar -

Breakdown of Foreign Ministers

what it means to Europe –

What is behind Russias position? WH

Take attitude not because they forced to it
we their allies in war – gave lives + material without question – without inspection

Take attitude because they look to human
that is – because leaders.

~~How I~~

People dont matter – totalitarian state

Position of people

Food
Housing
Clothing
} sacrified to 5 yr pl

But greatest is freedom

Politically – Contact with each other
" – outside world
" – leaders

what do people want?

Soviet argument about building better world

Does Russian policy mean war?

Арт. 920—58

Изготовлено по заказу
Московской конторы
Главбумсбыта

МОСГОРИПРОМПЕЧАТЬСОЮЗ
ПОЛИГРАФШКОЛА
МОСКВА